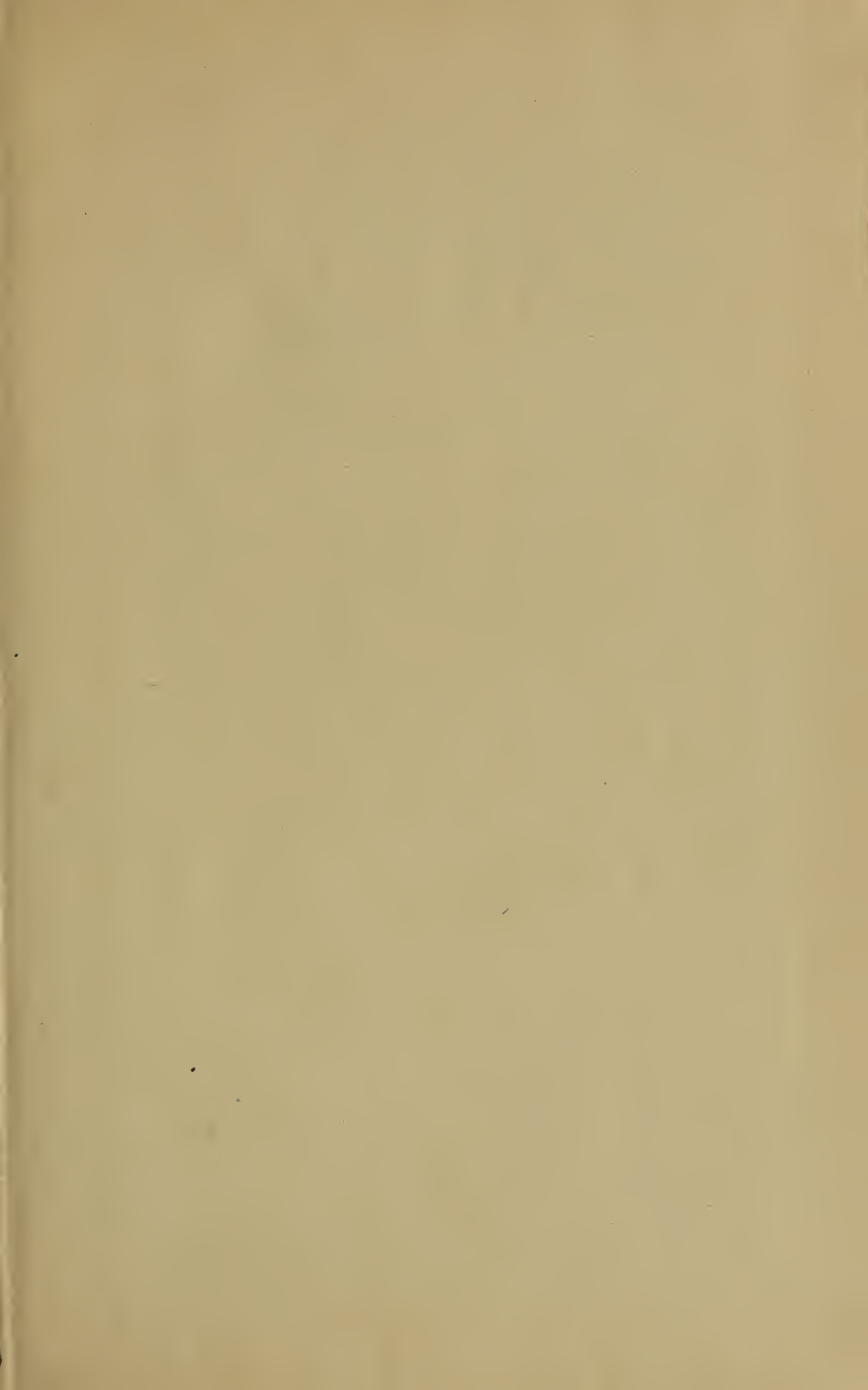
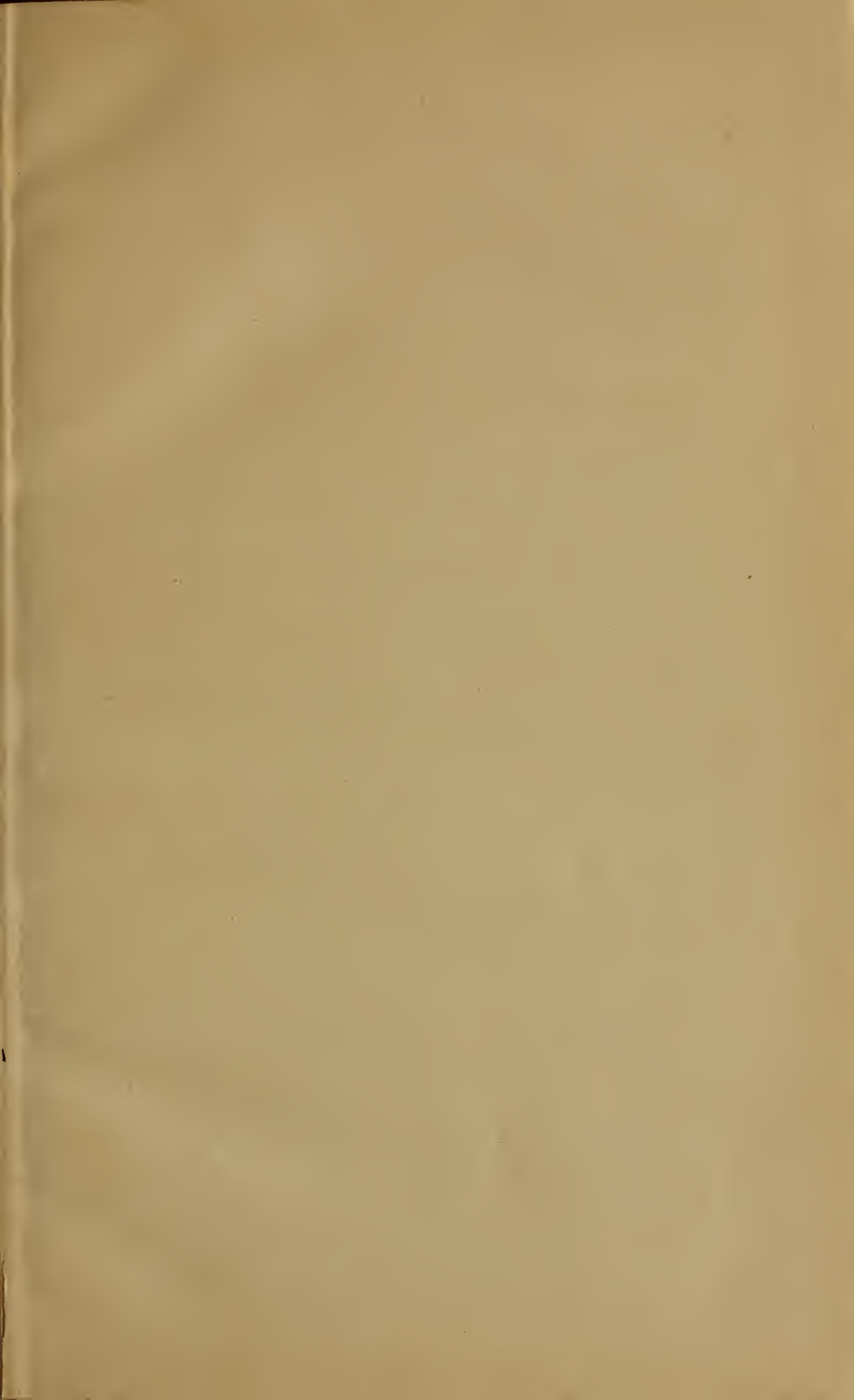


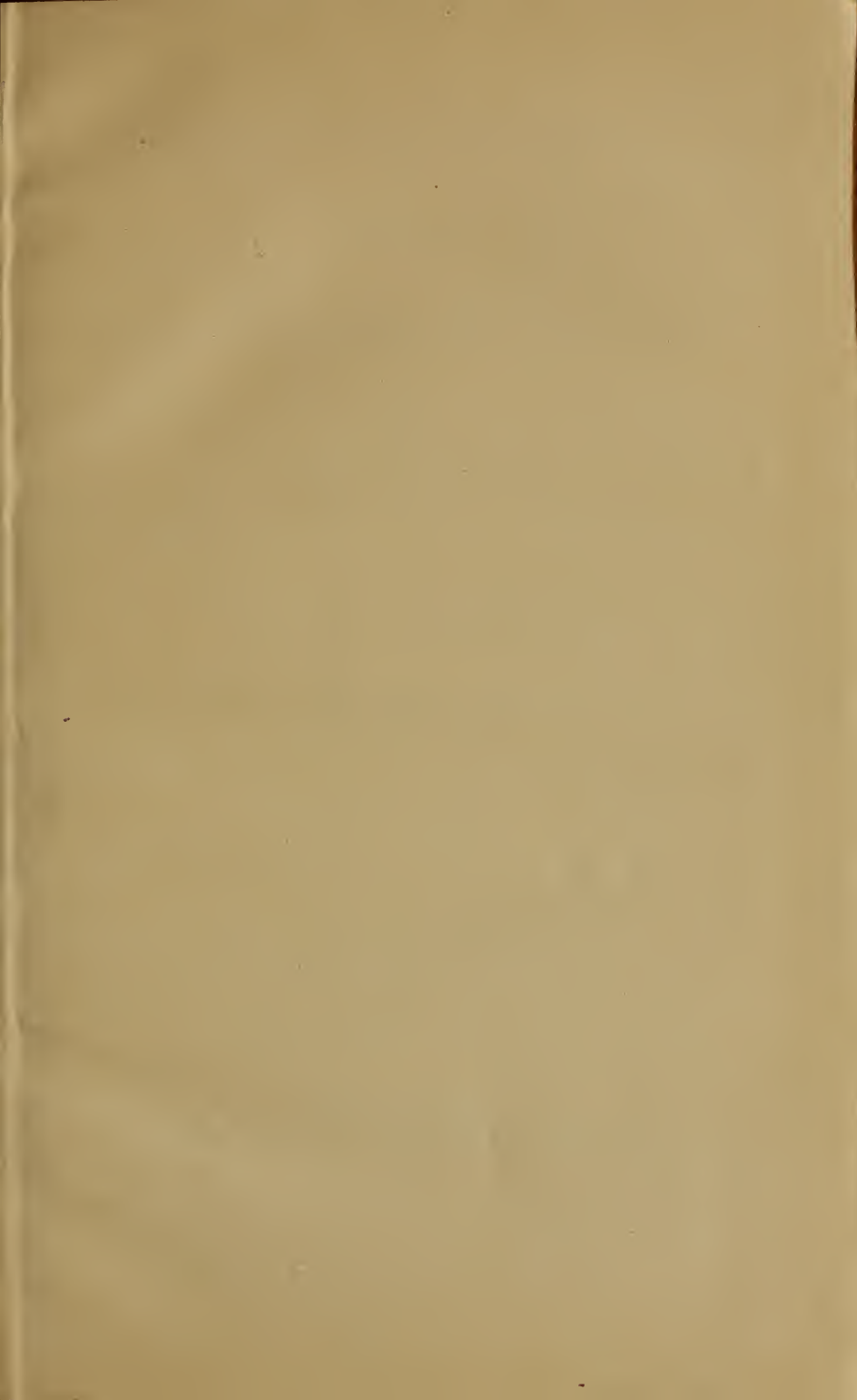
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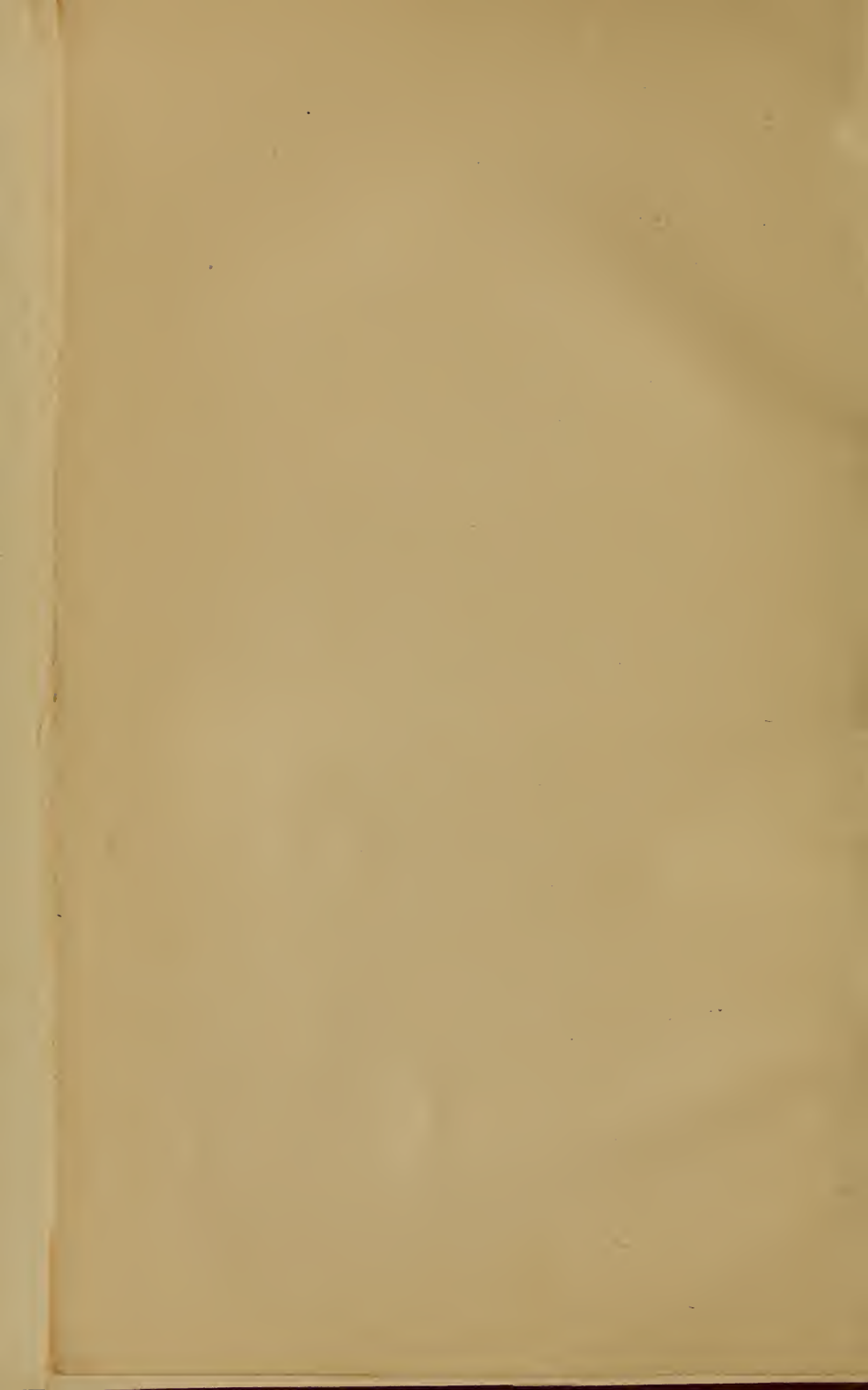












MANCHESTER WORTHIES
AND THEIR
FOUNDATIONS;
OR,
SIX CHAPTERS
OF
LOCAL HISTORY;
WITH AN EPILOGUE,

BY WAY OF MORAL.

BY EDWARD EDWARDS.

MANCHESTER:
JAMES GALT & CO., DUCIE STREET, EXCHANGE.

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PREFACE.

THE few pages which follow, originated in the casual remark of an accomplished American friend, in whose company the writer had the pleasure, nearly two years since, of visiting the fine "Old Church" and the old Hospital and Library of Humphrey Chetham. As we were leaving the latter, on our way to visit a cotton mill, my friend said:—"This is so curious a thing to see in *Manchester*, that I am sure some account of it would interest many of us, on the other side."

The observation led (after many delays on my part) to a notice of Chetham's life, and of his noble Foundation, which, at first, was sketched merely as a piece of local antiquarianism, but, almost insensibly, as I proceeded with the examination of the mass of curious papers left by the Founder and his executors,—access to which was most liberally accorded to me,—and discovered matter of an interesting kind, (interesting, at least, in this locality,) which had previously been either overlooked, or, as I thought, somewhat misrepresented, my sketch became a paper of far greater length than I had contemplated, and trenched unavoidably on matters of controversy, which were quite beyond the pale of its original design.

On one point, having too confidingly followed a statement made by the Charity Commissioners of 1825, I was led into an error, which I have gladly taken this opportunity of correcting, as far as the acceptable, though very meagre, information on that head which I have received from another quarter, enables me to do. The point, however, remains still in some doubt, from lack of that PUBLICITY in the affairs and administration of public trusts, the vital importance of which it is the chief aim of these pages to enforce.

Becoming thus more diffuse, and of wider scope, than had been intended, the portion descriptive of the Chetham Foundations was contributed to the *New York Literary Gazette*, and was published in several numbers of that journal, during July and September of last year; and the portion relating to the other Foundations, and to the general question, was published in the *British Quarterly Review* of the following October.

Whether be well or ill founded, the opinion I have formed, that it would be clearly for the promotion of Chetham's intentions, and as clearly for the general advantage of the community, that his Free Hospital and his Free Library should be severed, and the latter united with that other Free Library which Manchester owes to the energy of one of its most distinguished citizens, (and which the Corporation now maintains under the provisions of the Libraries' Act,) I trust that, at all events, a more popular account of these institutions than has yet appeared, cannot but be an acceptable, though a very humble, piece of public service. The arrangement I have ventured to advocate may, in this instance, be long postponed, or may never be effected. If accomplished at all, it must be by cordial co-operation between the eminent men, who are now Chetham's Feoffees, and the public at large. By a generous public spirit, and by hearty willinghood, it might easily be done; but never by angry controversy, and attempted coercion. The present Feoffees are men, too cultivated and too high-minded to be, on the one hand, brow-beaten into a measure, by whomsoever supported, of the wisdom and expediency of which they are not themselves convinced; or, on the other, to be deterred by dread of innovation from a step which they may come to think true to the spirit of their trust, although not provided for in its letter.

But, be this as it may, the more important question remains behind, in what manner the intentions which have actuated the Legislature in its recent enactments regarding "Charitable Trusts," may best be brought to bear practical fruit in the ap-

proved administration generally of the "Manchester Foundations," and, in particular, of that most important and pregnant endowment, the *Hulme Scholarships*, the present administration of which affords an example of total disregard, alike of the Testator's intentions, and of the wants of the Community he designed to benefit.

In that discussion, whenever it may come, it will not be for me to bear any prominent part. The question will have to be decided by persons whose deservedly influential position gives weight to their opinions, and authority to their actions. But, just as in a campaign there must be generals to command the whole army, officers to head regiments, soldiers to win battles, and also pioneers to open the trenches, sappers to work the mines, engineers to make the escarpements, and fatigue-parties to carry the earth-bags and fascines; so in the agitation of public questions, there must be not only men qualified to be leaders when those questions become ripe for final decision, but also the humble pioneers, working in obscurity, yet helping to create that array of public opinion which gathers force by degrees until it comes to be irresistible.

If, in this controversy, I can render service—not unuseful, howsoever obscure—by carrying my quota of faggots or of gabions, over which better men may pass to the decisive onset, I shall be well contented. On great educational questions, such as these, when battle is once fairly joined, the struggle may be long and hotly contested, but the victory is as certain as is the ultimate issue—in a God-governed world,—of that mighty struggle between the vital principles of Civilization and those of Barbarism, on which the eyes of all men are now so anxiously, yet hopefully, fixed.

OLD TRAFFORD,

10th August, 1855.

MANCHESTER WORTHIES, &c.

CHAPTER I.

THOMAS LA WARRE AND HUGH OLDHAM—THE OLD CHURCH AND THE
OLD SCHOOL.

IN that remote old world to which famous "Domesday survey" carries us back, and to which in the middle of this nineteenth century, and in the heart of this restless, innovating, and ever-toiling Lancashire of ours, so few things else *do* carry us back,—although it needs no very great or keen insight to discern there the first germs of some of the best of our present possessions,—we find that Manchester had two churches, St. Michael's and St. Mary's; and these churches were endowed in common with a "carucate" of land in "Kirkman's-Hulme." The former, and the more ancient one, was probably situate within the precincts of Alport (the two historians of Manchester, Whitaker and Hibbert Ware, agree in the conjecture, that "Knott Mill Fair" was originally commemorative of its feast of dedication); and the other seems to have occupied a portion of what is now called St. Mary's Gate. All else respecting them is almost too vague to give support even to a conjecture. There is, however, reason to suppose that, as the town extended itself in a northerly direction, the habitations which had made "Alport" a village, were gradually abandoned, and the older of the two churches was allowed to fall into neglect—a fate which was probably accelerated by the rivalry of the two Cluniac oratories or cells of Ordsall and Kersall. The town came to be a mile, perhaps, north of its ancient site, and hence the necessity of the newer church, which was dedicated to St. Mary. As to that other old church, which some historians have spoken of as "St. Matthew's" or "Aca's Church;"—whether it were a church at all; and if it were one, whether or not the chantry, mentioned in the inquest of 1535 as "Grell's chantry," had been founded out of its former endowment (as was not unfrequently the case, when from any cause a church fell into ruin);—here, too, all is but guess-work.*

* All that is known, however, or can be plausibly conjectured, will be found at great length in Dr. Hibbert Ware's excellent work: *The Ancient Parish Church of Manchester, and why it was Collegiated* (1848).

But we know well that from these obscurer times down to the beginning of the fifteenth century, Manchester was becoming, in every generation, both more populous and wealthier. Everywhere the yeoman population of England was rapidly increasing. Here, and in many places besides, the husbandman was becoming an artisan, the artisan a yeoman, and the yeoman a wealthy trader. At length came in the Flemish manufactures, and the woollen trade took a deep root in Manchester. The village of former times was now a large and thriving mercantile town, and the centre of an extensive agricultural parish.

Meanwhile, the endowments of the church had thriven too, and much of them had been absorbed by priests and rectors who were non-resident, and were engrossed in secular avocations. As was said in the famous "Apology for the Lollards," attributed to Wycliffe, "Now almost is there no worldly business that ministers of the altar are not employed in . . . whereof it followeth that they live contrary to Holy Writ, and to the decrees of old fathers." Many and reiterated were the complaints; numerous and long enduring the delays interposed in the way of redress; but, at length, a wise, able, and powerful reformer arose—as many such have arisen, and those amongst the best of their kind—in the bosom of the Church itself. Not content with complaint or protestation, he set to work vigorously to get new powers and new men—increased revenues and effective control over their application—permanent provision for the adequate celebration of divine worship, for due hospitality, and for the support of the poor;—in a word, for the earnest and true "cure of souls," according to the best lights of that day. Hence arose the *collegiation* of the Old Church of Manchester, at the instance of Thomas, twelfth Lord La Warre, and Rector of Manchester.

Thomas La Warre felt, with Wycliffe, that "lords have their high states in the church, and lordships, for to purvey true curates to the people, and to meyntheyn them in God's law, and punish them, if they failen in their ghostly cure, and that by this they holden their lordships of God." After conference with the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry (his diocesan), and others, he petitioned the king (Henry V.), and obtained letters patent giving powers "to erect the church of Manchester into a Collegiate Church, to consist of one Master or Warden, and as many Fellows, severally Chaplains, and other Ministers, as to the Bishop and his co-trustees, and to the said Thomas La Warre might be deemed expedient; to enable the Warden and Fellows to hold and appropriate to their purposes, certain messuages and lands, &c., notwithstanding any law of Mortmain existing, or future." These letters patent were dated 22nd May, 9 Henry V (1421). The consent of the parishioners was signified by solemn declaration, signed and sealed in the Parish Church on the 14th of the following month; and the charter of foundation was granted by the Bishop of the Diocese, on the 5th of August. It recited that "the Church of Manchester had in by-gone times been ruled and governed by Rectors, of whom some never, others very rarely, heeded personally to reside in the same, but caused the adminicle" (or curacy) "to be served by remote stipendiary chaplains, removing the profits and oblations of such church to their private uses, according to their own pleasure, from

the daily absence of whom followed a neglect of the cure of souls," &c.; and it then rehearsed and confirmed the provisions of the letters patent of the king.

On the 8th of November of the year following, Thomas La Warre infeoffed to the use of the church thus collegiate, divers messuages and lands, of which the principal portions were these:—

1. The carucate of land granted to the Church of Manchester before the Conquest.

2. The glebe land in Deansgate, known as "The Parsonage."

3. The "Baron's Hall and Baron's Yard," intended to be the residence of the Warden and Fellows, and now well-known as "Chetham's Hospital and Library," with various smaller messuages in other localities. Lord La Warre did not long outlive the noble foundation by which he had sought to transfer the right of advowson, and with it the appropriation of endowments, from the baronial patronage of his heirs and successors to a capitular body, in order to "the augmentation of divine worship in the Church, and a more propitious regimen of the cure of souls of the parishioners of the said church, and a relief of the state of the parishioners themselves." However he may have hesitated to follow Wycliffe and "the Lollards," in their bold reformation of corrupted doctrine, it is clear that he was thoroughly of the same spirit with them in their detestation of clerical secularity and pastoral neglect. He appears to have died in the 6th year of King Henry VI (1428).

But now, as ever, the work of reform was but begun, and the end was far distant. It was the fortune of the Manchester Collegiate Church, as of other mundane institutions, to have periods of brilliancy and periods of deep gloom; to render at one time real and eminent services to the community; to be obnoxious at others, to stern and deserved rebuke; to be, in one age, presided over by men who would have adorned the very highest place in their sacred profession, and in another, to be swayed by the stormy passions or impelled by the base avarice of men who would have cast a stain upon any, the humblest of callings.

The Collegiate Church had passed through the trying period of the Dissolution of the Monasteries, but it was dissolved in the 1st year of Edward VI. (1547); the college was turned into a vicarage, and the lands were granted to Edward, Earl of Derby, subject to certain charges and pensions. Under Mary, however, it was re-established; the deeds of alienation were recalled—except as to the Collegiate House (the old "Baron's Hall" of the Gresleys and La Warres),—and the priests' chauntries were restored. Lawrence Vaux—a zealous, and, it is said, learned Catholic—was appointed Warden, but he was expelled and imprisoned under Elizabeth, and appears to have died in Westminster Gate House, denuded of the common necessities of life. Thomas Herle succeeded Vaux, and in his wardenship the services of the church were neglected, the clergy disgraced, the town convulsed—even to open riot—by religious animosities, and the revenues squandered by the granting of leases inordinately long, at rents utterly inadequate. In 1576 the abuses had reached so high a pitch, that urgent representations were made to Burleigh and Walsingham, which soon led to Herle's suspension,

and ultimate expulsion from the office of Warden, and eventually, to the granting of a new charter—granted, it may be fairly said, to reform abuses which had been connived at and nursed by the very power that granted it—under which instrument John Wolton (afterwards Bishop of Exeter), was the first Warden. Bishop Wolton was succeeded by Thomas Chadderton, also raised to the episcopate in 1595; and he by John Dee, famous in his day as a mathematician, and more famous since, as a “discourser with spirits.”

Dr. John Dee was succeeded by a man, whose wardenship was disgraced by even worse abuses than those which had stained the wardenship of Herle. Duties unperformed and revenues misappropriated, were in this case combined with irregularities of even a more scandalous description. There was reason to believe that the chief offender—like a too celebrated clerical pluralist of our own day—had never been in legal possession of his office at all, and that by a vigorous prosecution of the appeal to the crown, not only might the town recover those spiritual advantages of which it had been partially deprived, but religion itself might be freed from a great scandal.

Dr. Richard Murray—an offshoot of the house of Tullibardine and Athol, and an obsequious courtier of King James I.—had obtained from that monarch a grant of the wardenship of Manchester, in the year 1608. By the charter, it was incumbent on the warden to take an oath on his introduction, that he would observe the statutes, and *inter alia*, pay certain fines for every day (over and above a fixed period) on which he should be absent. To save the fines, Dr. Murray avoided to take the oath. He appears to have been more at home at Court than at Church, but to have borne much the same character at both, if we may judge by a characteristic jest recorded to have been uttered by his royal patron, on Murray's preaching before him from the text, Rom. i. 16, “*I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ.*” On seeing the preacher after the sermon, the king is said to have exclaimed, “By my saul, mon, if thou art not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, the gospel of Christ may weel be ashamed of thee.”* That under such a head grave abuses should be complained of in the collegiate body was in the natural course of things, as it also was that in those days of passionate controversy and rampant priestcraft an attempt should be made to turn the tables on the complainants by fixing upon them the *stigma* of Puritanism.

Amongst the papers of Humphrey Chetham, which are still extant, there are many graphic letters on this subject, addressed to him by Richard Johnson, one of the Fellows of the College (afterwards the first librarian of Chetham Library), and an active promoter of the proceedings against Murray. Whilst those proceedings were still pending in the High Commission Court, Johnson had to defend himself against charges of preaching too much, and preaching unsupplied, of administering the Sacrament in a wrong part of the church,

* Dr. Hibbert Ware discredits this story (first recorded by Hollingworth) on the ground of its profanity. But an objection of this kind, if applicable, would make sad havoc of the court history of James I.; and the story itself will appear probable enough to the readers of the correspondence referred to in the text, between R. Johnson and Humphrey Chetham, preserved in the Chetham archives.

and the like; and he often expresses his anticipation of the severe censure of Archbishop Laud upon such practices. At last he writes to Chetham:—"Thus farr enemyes have prevayled that I must not preach any more at Gorton without a surplesse, that I must not preach at 9 o'clock in y^e morning at Manchester, and that I must not administer the Sacrament to any one out of the quire."

Meanwhile the suit against the Warden dragged wearily on. Chetham complains to his friend that he does not write often enough about his progress. Johnson replies, that "from the uncertaintie of all things I was afraid to say too much lest I should make myselfe a new labour to unsay it againe." But at length (in July, 1635) he writes:—"I have heere sent you downe the decree of the court [by which Dr. Murray was excommunicated, deprived of his wardenship, fined £2,000, condemned in expences and costs of suit, and committed to the Gate-House*] . . . but whether any of this will stand except the deprivation, God knoweth; neither had that ever been done whilst the world had stood, had [not] my paynes and charges, and friends also, been the greater. . . . I am perswaded we shall never have a penny. There is but an hundred marks allowed by the court, which the officers conceive to be by much too little for themselves. . . . I confesse with that which I borrowed when I came up, it hath cost me thirtie pounds since I came, but I must be content since God hath cast mee into these troubles. I doe owe more to him than all this money cometh to, and myne honestie is more worth, and I thank God my credit is yett more worth; I have had small help herein, and youre helpe and encouragement hath been the greatest o. any which I have had from any creature, for which I rest your servant. Ye borrower is a servant to y^e lender; and I shall, as is my duty, pray for you, and if my neighbours doe assist me, I will with God's grace see you payd; only I crave your patience for a little time; I am as sorrowfull and melancholy as may bee that I cannot come home, for if I should come before the patent for the newe foundation bee drawn, in the drawinge whereof I think I shall have the greatest hand (but in this I desire to be concealed) things may be worse; and therefore, though sorely agaynst my will, I am constrained to stay. The warden's excommunication is taken off already, the mitigation of his fine is reserved to the next court day. I think it will be taken all, or for the most part all off. Mr. Herrick nowe is not so likely to bee warden; it is uncertain who shall have it. I pray God send us an honest man." . . . And he concludes with a request (for the neglect of which I am grateful to Chetham) "I pray, Sr., doe as much for this letter as I did for yours, sacrifice it to Vulcane."

A month later,—Chetham in the meantime having alluded to reports that were current as to Dr. Murray's restoration to the wardenship—Mr. Johnson writes:—"I think it [the warden's return] as unlikely as for a man if hee should with the devill have

* By a most singular euphuism, this sentence is transformed in Dr. Hibbert Ware's 'History of the Collegiate Church,' into the '*Retirement* of Dr. Murray.' This phrase occurs three times, (pp. 148, 151, 391), and the real character of the '*retirement*' is nowhere indicated. Only one letter of this remarkable correspondence is cited, and that imperfectly, and at second hand.

been cast into hell, to come to heaven. . . . I fear the Archbishop, (he adds) for all his former shewes, studdyes for the pomp of the future warden, and to pleasure some chaplayne of the king's, or his owne with y^e place. God be merciful unto us."

In 1635, however, the new charter passed the Great Seal, and Richard Heyrick was appointed Warden, much to Chetham's gratification. Heyrick was a man of great ability, and had a decided leaning towards the Puritans. It was his fortune to preach trumpet-toned sermons from the Manchester pulpit on several great occasions during the struggle for our liberties,—not without result in the increase of the local adherents to the Parliament,—and to live long enough to deliver from the same pulpit another eloquent discourse in honour of the "Happy Restoration."

Under the new charter, which Chetham so zealously promoted, no Murrays have disgraced their sacred functions by shameful unfitness and gross corruption. Nor, during more than two centuries has any Warden been appointed in liquidation of a royal debt to a goldsmith, or by way of salve for the loss of a promised lay-preferment, the holder of which did not die so opportunely as was expected. During this long period the Wardenship or Deanery of Manchester has been almost uniformly held by men distinguished both for ability and piety. Some, like "silver-tongued Wroe," have been chiefly eminent in the pulpit: others, like Stratford and Peploe, have done good service to the community by their zealous efforts to raise its moral tone, and to multiply its works of charity. Many have been (as some are now) conspicuous for their attainments in scholarship and literature. (That, for instance, is a powerful hand, well exercised in polemics, which—at an early stage of the long contest, resulting eventually in the Manchester Rectory Division Act—sped the arrowy shaft:—"Would not the following of Lord de la Warre's generous example be even better than squabbling over the spoils of his benefactions?") Some have even been most eminent for their adherence to the principles of religious liberty, and, like the younger Peploe, have sacrificed friendships and incurred hatred by seeking to widen the bands of Christian fellowship,—and this, too, at a time when party spirit ran very high in Manchester, and when a rancorous hatred of dissent and dissenters was the test and symbol of good churchmanship.

The men, in short, have been good men, but not sufficiently good to change a rigid and restrictive system into an expansive and genial system; or to transform an institution, first cast in the mould of the fifteenth century, and then modified according to the circumstances of the seventeenth, into one adapted to the ideas, or meeting the exigencies, of the nineteenth. The two or three thousand inhabitants who composed the "large and populous" parish of De la Warre's day had grown into the 400,000 inhabitants of our own day; the "250 marks" of yearly revenue of the one period had become the £6,000 a-year of the other; and yet it had also come to be matter of grave legal discussion whether the "cure of souls," spoken of in the charter, meant the pastoral charge of the *souls of the parishioners*, or the pastoral charge of the *souls of the collegiates themselves*. And the controversy was both sharp and long.

The Legislature itself had not a little complicated the main question, by inserting in the Cathedral Act of 1836, a clause which (in contemplation of the subsequent erection of a Diocese of Manchester) at once transformed the Warden and Fellows of a Collegiate Church into the Dean and Canons of a Cathedral Church; and, whilst limiting the incomes of the future dignitaries, so as to assimilate them with those of other Cathedral Chapters, proceeded to appropriate the prospective surplus, not to the increase of spiritual provision in the parish of Manchester, but to the augmentation of the general funds of the Ecclesiastical Commission. Such a misappropriation was most justly resisted, as well by the Dean and Canons, as by many of those who on other points were opposed to them.

The bare existence of a controversy like this is suggestive of many reflections and deductions which did not then gain utterance on either side. But with these we have no present concern. Briefly, it may be said to have resulted in the enactment of that Manchester Rectory Division Act, which was passed in 1850, after an expenditure on the part of its promoters exceeding £4,000.

By this statute (and through the intermediacy of the Ecclesiastical Commission) the original parish was divided into districts,—each several district becoming a parish and rectory with “cure of souls.” The remainder of the parish will be the future parish of Manchester, having the Cathedral Church for its parish church. The future dean will have the cure of souls within the mother parish, with the minor canons for assistants or curates. Four of the new rectories will be assigned to the canons. The revenues of the Chapter, received by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, are to be applied, in the first instance, to pay the stipends of the Dean, Canons, and Minor Canons; the residue is to be applied exclusively for the cure of souls in the original parish of Manchester; that is to say, the endowments of all the rectories are to be raised first to £150 each at the lowest, and then, when funds will admit, to £250 each. Such are the principal provisions of this much-contested act of Church Reform*; and it is certainly a large and liberal one. Manchester now possesses not only church reform but church dignitaries—enlightened, zealous, and highminded; and such as lag behind few men in lending furtherance to measures of practical educational progress.

The bitterness of the contest has passed away, and all who were parties to it can now, it may be hoped, work together in all good causes.

THE FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL can also look back upon a long career, and the example of its Founder has been fruitful in inciting others to build upon his foundation. The good Bishop of Exeter, Hugh Oldham, (said, by some of his biographers, to have been born, like Chetham, at Crumpsall) was blessed with a sister, who, unsatisfied with merely helping him in well-doing herself, induced her husband to help him

* In fairness it should be admitted, that much of the bitterness and obstinacy of the contest, is to be ascribed to the spirit in which some of the movers of the reform set to work. Their proceedings were characterised by an abundance of the *fortiter in re*, not always by the *suaviter in modo*. The work done, however, is a good work, and of a sort which the soft hand is rarely known to accomplish without other help.

too. Joan Bexwyke (or Beswicke) and Hugh Bexwyke were not so much the trustees of Oldham, as they were his co-founders in the endowment, if not in the first erection, of Manchester School.

The existing foundation-deed dates from 1525 (when Oldham had been dead nearly six years), and recites that the founder had built a school and endowed it—

“For the good mynde wich he hadd and bare to the countrey of Lancashire, consyderyng the brynging upp in lernyng, vertue and good maners, childeryn in the same countrey, should be the key and grounde to have good people ther, wiche hath lacked and wanted in the same, as well for grete povertie of the com^a people ther, as allsoe by cause of long tyme passyd the teyching and brynging upp of yonge childrene to scole to the lernyng of gramyer hath not been taught ther, for lack of sufficient scole-master . . . so that the children in the same countrey *haryng pregnant wytte*, have ben most parte brought up rudely and idilly, and not in vertue, connyng, litterature, and good maners.”

The endowment consisted of the Manchester corn-mills, with all their tolls and appurtenances, of certain lands in Ancoats and elsewhere, and of a burgage or burgages in “the Millgate.” The statutes directed that no lease of the school estates should be granted for more than ten years; that the salary of the high master should be £10 a year, that of the usher £5, and that of the receiver £1; and that when the surplus revenues should amount to £40, they should be applied to the exhibition of scholars at Oxford or Cambridge.

Bishop Oldham was one of the many eminent ecclesiastics who owed the first steps of their preferment,—and possibly, in his case, education itself,—to the munificence of Margaret, Countess of Richmond, the mother of King Henry VII. He was the intimate friend of Fox, the founder of Corpus Christi College, at Oxford, and of Smyth, the founder of Brasenose. It is on record that it was by his counsel that Fox abandoned his original intention of founding a monastery rather than a college,—Oldham suggesting to him that instead of “building houses and providing livelihoods for a company of monks, whose end and fall we may ourselves live to see, it were more meet a great deal that we should have care to *provide for the increase of learning, and for such as by their learning shall do good to Church and Commonwealth.*” Nor did he content himself with giving good advice. He was a great benefactor to Brasenose; he contributed 6,000 marks towards the building of Corpus Christi, and he left to it a considerable bequest in land; thus well earning the honourable mention of him in its statutes as “*hujus nostri collegii precipuus benefactor*,” and the appropriation by its founder of a scholarship and fellowship for natives of Lancashire.

With Brasenose the Manchester School is more intimately connected by the munificent foundation, first (1679) of four scholarships there by Sarah Seymour, Duchess Dowager of Somerset, for scholars

"out of the free school of Manchester," and afterwards (by her will, in 1686) of certain other scholarships in Brasenose and in St. John's College, Cambridge, to be alternately filled by elections "out of Manchester school, Hereford school, and Marlborough school, from time to time, for ever." These scholarships now amount to twenty-two, and vary in value from £36 to £52 per annum.

The pupils of Manchester school have also had their share of the large exhibitions arising from the bequest of William Hulme, Esq., of Kearsley (to which bequest we shall advert presently), now fifteen in number, and worth £120 each per annum, with £35 more to each exhibitor for books*—as well as of the six scholarships at Magdalen, founded by the Rev. John Smith, president of that college, who died in 1638.

Whilst the splendid provisions for the university career of pupils from the school founded by Bishop Oldham, attested the high position it had attained in public estimation, its own resources were largely augmented by the improved value of its lands, and more especially of its mill-tolls. But the latter, from their very nature, were as productive of ill-will and of litigation as of profit. The law-suits they gave rise to were almost interminable; and when at last brought to issue, new suits seemed constantly to grow out of the ashes of the old.† Hence, in 1758, an Act of Parliament was passed, abolishing the custom of the compulsory grinding at the mills of any corn or grain whatever, except malt. The custom as respects malt was confirmed, and still continues. The toll was fixed at a shilling per load, instead of the accustomed twenty-fourth part. Powers were also given to the feoffees to sell land on chief for building purposes.

When the Charity Commissioners reported on this school, in 1825, its total income was £4,408 17s. 1½d., and its expenditure little more than £2,500 a-year. "Whenever," say they, "the contemplated expenditure for improving the residences of the masters shall have been carried into effect . . . it will be a proper subject for the consideration of the trustees in what manner the surplus income can be most beneficially disposed of in furthering the objects of the foundation."

When, however, the necessity for solving this problem arrived, the scheme proposed by the feoffees (in 1833, when the reserved fund exceeded £20,000), sanctioned by the Master in Chancery to whom their petition was referred, and confirmed by Lord Chancellor Brougham, failed to meet all its conditions, and excited considerable dissatisfaction, especially on the part of the Manchester "liberals."

This scheme directed that there should be twelve exhibitions, of £60 per annum each, tenable for four years. The objectors desired

* 'Evidence of Alexander Kay, Esq., before Mr. Milner Gibson's Committee on Manchester and Salford Education,' Q. 2411, p. 395.

† A very curious history of a series of such suits, against John Hartley, of Strangeways, is given in some of those Papers on the Archæology of Lancashire, by means of which Mr. Harland has stamped historic value on the columns of the *Manchester Guardian*. To another of these excellent papers, 'Recollections of a Manchester Nonagenarian,' 1st January, 1853, I owe the anecdote of Thyer and the Grammar-school 'Saturnalia,' mentioned on a subsequent page.

to abolish the practice of the taking of boarders by the masters (formerly abused to a gross extent, but which the new scheme continued under limitations); to replace the absentee feoffees by residents of Manchester, and to increase the provision for elementary English instruction, as a branch of the regular duties of the school. This difference of view led to a litigation which lasted nearly thirteen years, and was not finally settled until it had been severally adjudicated upon by Lord Chancellor Cottenham, by Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst, and by the late Vice-Chancellor of England.

On one main point which underlay this controversy—whether or not there should be boarders; and, if any, whether the exhibitions should, or should not, be open to them—these great lawyers differed. Lord Cottenham (1840) allowed boarders, but denied them exhibitions. Lord Lyndhurst (1843) allowed both. The Vice-Chancellor (11th January, 1849) abolished boarders altogether, grounding himself on the fact, that the taking of boarders had not been sanctioned by the feoffees (as Lord Lyndhurst had inferred), but had arisen *ex mero motu* of former masters.

The decree by which the Vice-Chancellor constituted a new Board of Trustees, and laid down a scheme for their guidance, was certainly designed to effect other and greater changes in the school. While the authorities of the school are, in this decree, rightly enjoined to continue the encouragement of classical learning, they are required to add largely to the ancient course of grammar school instruction, by appointing masters to teach, not only English Literature and Mathematics, but the modern Languages, and modern Arts and Sciences. So much in earnest is the decree as to these enlargements of the school system, that, as I read it, the fund for future exhibitions is non-existent, until there be a surplus income after the new branches of learning shall have been grafted upon the old stock. It appears that the French language is taught in the school, but no other modern tongue; and that modern Arts and Sciences have still no place in the course. That the scheme is imperfectly fulfilled, and the duty which all the authorities owe to the Court of Chancery and to the community of Manchester is not fully discharged until further steps shall have been taken in this direction, cannot, I think, be fairly doubted.

As to the present or recent condition and management of the school it may be stated that there are, or lately were, three departments, or schools:—1. The Upper, or Classical School, with four masters and nearly seventy boys. 2. The Lower School, in which younger boys are prepared for the Upper and English Schools, with one master and also about seventy boys. 3. The English School, in which a single master has to toil at the impossible task of teaching History, Grammar, Geography, and a multitude of other things, to nearly one hundred and fifty urchins of from eight to about twelve years old. For an English School, which forms part of a great and venerable foundation in one of the chief cities of the realm, this is no satisfactory report.

The amount expended annually in masters' salaries, is, according to a statement that has been printed, about £2,100. From such an expenditure much may fairly be expected.

The full effect of all the intended alterations, time only can disclose. That change, however, which affects the taking of boarders cannot but be productive of ultimate good. And it may be hoped that a pithy hint which fell from the lips of the Vice-Chancellor, in the delivery of his judgment, may also some day bear fruit. "It is part," said his honour, "of the facts of this case (and rather a lamentable fact) that—the revenue of the charity depending very much on the profits of the malt-mill—a vast number of persons at Manchester are exercising their ingenuity in discovering how they can subtract from the dues of the mill; and it certainly appears to me that there is a tendency to cheat the charity at Manchester; *it would be well to counteract that by some act of liberality.*"

Manchester School can display a good muster-roll of eminent scholars. Amongst them stand the names of John Bradford, the martyr; of Robert Thyer; of Whitaker, the historian; of Dr. Cyril Jackson; of Dr. Thomas Winstanley; of Reginald Heber; and of Thomas De Quincey.

Of its masters, the late Charles Lawson was, perhaps, the most professionally distinguished. Of stern temper, but of the strictest integrity, it is possible that he was more respected than loved. He kept the staff in his hand till he had scarce strength to wield it, and thus, in some instances, became the cause of suffering as acute, though of a different kind, as that which he is said to have been but too prompt to inflict in his days of vigour. In those days Thyer gave him a rather pointed reproof, through the mouth of a school-boy, by composing a speech to be delivered on a public occasion, which gave impunity to the speaker;—

"Permit me, sir," said the boy, "under the protection of this privileged season, to ask you to accept a few gentle hints in return for the many broad ones you favour us with during the rest of the year. If the Spartans allowed their slaves once a year the liberty of saying what they pleased, I flatter myself that a claim to the same indulgence may be pardoned in a British school-boy."

"To understand an author, you tell us, sir, that we should read in the spirit in which he wrote. How, then, can you expect the manly genius of a Tully, from the labours of a sour, domineering, flogging pedagogue? Pardon me, sir, if, upon so feeling a subject, the warmth of imagination has carried me beyond the limits of decency."

Some forty years later Mr De Quincey experienced a different phase of the same stern discipline; and he, who can at will paint for us his word-pictures with the broad and massive light and shadow of a Rembrandt, or with the minute touch and marvellous finish of a Mieris, has thus depicted his experience:—

"My guardians agreed that the most prudent course . . . was to place me at the Manchester Grammar School, not with a view to further improvement in my classical knowledge, though the head master was a sound scholar, but simply with a view to one of the school *exhibitions*. Amongst the countless establishments scattered all over England by the noble munificence of Englishmen and Englishwomen in past generations for connecting the provincial towns

with the . . . universities of the land, this Manchester School was one: in addition to other great local advantages . . . this noble foundation secured a number of exhibitions at Brasenose College, Oxford, to those pupils of the school who should study at Manchester for three consecutive years. . . . At that time, I believe, each exhibition yielded about 40 guineas a-year, and was legally tenable for seven successive years. Now to me this would have offered a most seasonable advantage, had it been resorted to some two years earlier . . . But at present I was halfway on the road to the completion of my sixteenth year. . . . As things were, delay had thrown the whole arrangement awry. For the better half of the three years I endured it patiently. But it had at length begun to enter more corrosively into my peace of mind than ever I had anticipated. The head master was substantially superannuated for the duties of his place. Not that intellectually he showed any symptoms of decay: but in the spirits and physical energies requisite for his duties he *did*; not so much age as disease, it was, that incapacitated him. In the course of a long day, beginning at 7 a. m., and stretching down to 5 p. m., he succeeded in reaching the farther end of his duties. But how? Simply by consolidating into one continuous scene of labour, the entire ten hours. The full hour of relaxation which traditions . . . and bye-laws had consecrated to breakfast, was narrowed into ten or even seven minutes. The two hours' interval from 12 to 2 p. m., was pared down to forty minutes, or less. In this way he walked conscientiously through the services of the day, fulfilling to the letter every section, the minutest, of the traditional rubric. But he purchased this consummation at the price of all comfort to himself; and, having done *that*, he felt himself the more entitled to neglect the comfort of others. The case was singular; he neither showed any indulgence to himself, nor, in thus tenaciously holding on to his place, did he (I am satisfied) govern himself by any mercenary thought or wish, but simply by an austere sense of duty. He discharged his public functions with constant fidelity and with superfluity of learning, and felt, perhaps, . . . that possibly the same learning united with the same zeal might not revolve as a matter of course in the event of his resigning the place. . . . But not by one atom the less did the grievous results weigh upon all within his sphere, and upon myself most ruinously. . . .

"At Christmas there was a solemn celebration of the season by public speeches. Among the six speakers, I, as one of the three boys who composed the head class, held a distinguished place; and it followed also, as a matter of course, that all my friends congregated on this occasion to do me honour. What I had to recite was a copy of Latin verses on the recent conquest of Malta. '*Milite Britannis subacta*,' was the title of my worshipful nonsense. Probably there were, in that crowded audience, many old Manchester friends of my father, loving his memory, and thinking to honour it by kindness to his son. Furious at any rate was the applause which greeted me: furious was my own disgust. Frantic were the clamours as I concluded my nonsense; frantic was my inner sense of shame at the childish exhibition."†

† 'Autobiographic Sketches,' ii. 60—80.

The time, I hope, will come, when Manchester School, adapting itself to the true requirements of altered times,—as seen undistorted by temporary interests, narrow views, and passing prejudices—but retaining, and retaining with veneration, all that is valuable in the good old paths, will show a new muster-roll of names worthy to rank beside the Cyril Jacksons, the Whitakers, the Hebers, and the De Quinceys of a former day.

CHAPTER II.

HUMPHREY CHETHAM—HIS LIFE-BATTLE AND ITS OBJECT.

THE well-deserved niche in that grand old gallery of "The Worthies of England," which Fuller has accorded to Humphrey Chetham, has probably endeared his name to many readers who know but little of those "Foundations of Manchester" with which it was triply associated. Educated in the Free Grammar School founded by Bishop Oldham, he lent in his manhood a helpful hand towards the reformation of the Collegiate Church of Thomas La Warre, and at his death bequeathed to his townsmen a third endowment worthy to rank with those enduring monuments of the public spirit of a preceding age.

The Manchester of to-day has no more striking contrast to offer to the eyes of the stranger who visits it for the first time, than that which presents itself on his turning from the busy thoroughfare called "Hunt's Bank," into the secluded monastic-looking court of the Chetham Hospital and Library, locally known as "The College." A moment before, the most conspicuous objects were dingy factories, with their tall chimneys (pouring forth smoke as dense as though no Smoke Prevention Act had ever been heard of), and streets crowded with passengers walking as if for dear life; and now nothing is visible but a long and low building of the time of Henry VI., entirely devoid of "modern improvements," and wanting only a few of the ecclesiastics of the Collegiate Church of that day (for whose residence, as we have seen, it was built on the site of a much older baronial hall of the La Warres, lords of Manchester), to make the spectator forget his own chronology. Here, if anywhere, he may well recall "the olden time," and from the once romantic rock on which he stands, may (if he be blest with a lively imagination) look upon the scene as Drayton saw it when he made the river Irwell proudly sing:—

'First Roch, a dainty rill
.
. And Irk add to my store,
And Medlock, to their much, by lending somewhat more;
At Manchester they meet, all kneeling to my state,
Where brave I show myself.'*

But, alas! though the rivers still blend at his feet, all their beauty is for ever gone.

* 'Poly-olbion,' Song 27.

To Humphrey Chetham belongs not only the praise of founding a school and library for public use, but that also of preserving from destruction almost the only relic of antiquity—save its fine “Old Church”—of which Manchester can now boast. But for Chetham, the baron’s hall and the priest’s college would long since have given place to a cotton-mill, or a railway station.

On entering the building, the visitor passes through the ancient refectory, or dining-hall, with its dais (beyond which is a very handsome wainscotted room, where, “once upon a time,” Raleigh is said to have dined with Dr. Dee—of magical notoriety—at that period Warden of Manchester), and he then ascends, by a venerable staircase and a fine two-storied cloister to the library, which occupies what were formerly the dormitories of the priests. The books are chiefly kept in wall-cases extending along the entire length of a corridor—somewhat of the shape of an L reversed,—and branching off into fifteen recesses, each with its little window and its latticed gate. So small are these windows, that they admit but a very “dim religious light,” quite in harmony with the character of the building. At the end of the library is another fine oak-panelled room, with an oriel, lighted through stained glass, and containing furniture at least three centuries old. This is now the reading room (having superseded the recesses of the library itself) and a noble room it is for such a purpose. Original portraits—chiefly of Lancashire worthies—adorn the walls, and amongst them is a characteristic likeness of the “Founder.” The dormitories of the boys, and the apartments of the officers, occupy the rest of the building. The school-room is of more recent erection, and abuts on the play ground of the Free Grammar School.

Humphrey Chetham is stated to have been the fourth* son of Henry Chetham, of Crumpsall (once a little hamlet about two miles north of Manchester, but now almost absorbed into that much-devouring and still hungry town), where he was born in July, 1580. In due time he was apprenticed to a linendraper or clothier of this town, and here also he established himself in business. His trading career appears to have been eminently and uninterruptedly prosperous. He combined the business of a money-lender (dealing largely in mortgages) with that of a wool-factor and “Manchester warehouseman”—as the term is now—on an extensive scale. He had, too, considerable transactions with Ireland in yarn and linen. But his chief traffic seems to have been in “fustians,” which he bought at Bolton, and sold in London and elsewhere.

Having acquired considerable landed property in his native county, first (in 1620) at Clayton,† near Manchester, and afterwards (in 1628), at Turton, near Bolton; he soon attracted the notice of

* Comp. Whatton, in ‘History of the Foundations of Manchester,’ iii. 142, and Raines (a better authority), in the notes to Gastrell’s ‘Notitia Cestriensis,’ ii. 68.

† At Clayton Hall he succeeded the Byrons, whose principal seat it was until they obtained the grant of Newstead Abbey. It was sold by Sir John Byron to ‘George Chetham, of London, grocer, and Humphrey Chetham, of Manchester, chapman,’ for £4,700, together with the ‘impaled ground called Clayton Park, and the reputed Manor of Clayton.’ The moat still surrounds what is left of the house (which is but little, though well preserved), now the property, ‘by distaff,’ of Mr. Peter Hoare. Clayton, too, is almost swallowed up by one of the densest of the suburbs of Manchester.

the money-seeking functionaries of Charles I., in the shape of a summons to pay a fine for not having attended at his majesty's coronation, "to take upon him the order of knighthood." It will be seen hereafter that it was his lot throughout life to meet his chief troubles in the shape of greatness thrust upon him. The first public matter of moment in which there is evidence of his having taken part was that reform of abuses, in the Collegiate Church, of which I have spoken in the preceding chapter.

Whilst this question was yet in progress, he received intelligence that it was probable he would be nominated sheriff of Lancashire for the following year; and he wrote to a friend then at court:—"Although the consideration of my unworthiness (methinks) might correct the conceit, yet out of the observation of former times wherein this eminent office hath falne verie lowe, I cannot presume of freedome, but I am confident out of your ancient professed friendship . . . that if anie put me forward, you will stand in the waie, and suffer mee not to come in the rank of those that shall bee presented to the king's view; whereby I shall be made more popular [*i. e.* conspicuous] and thereby more subject to the perill of the tymes."

But his reluctance was of no avail. In November, 1634, Chetham entered on his office, and on the 13th of the following month received from his predecessor the first writ for *SHIP MONEY* ("That word of lasting sound in the memory of this kingdom," as Clarendon calls it), so that its execution devolved upon him at the very threshold of his new dignity. His notes upon the writ are still extant. They are not such as John Hampden would have made, had he stood in Chetham's place; but they are interesting for the contrasts they suggest between the Lancashire of the seventeenth century and the Lancashire of the nineteenth:—"The first thing," he says, "is to consider how much moneys will purchase a shipp of such a burden . . . the second thing is to aporeion . . . the same monies equally . . . and what part thereof the tounes within the county of Lanc. ought to pay, for if you shall tax and assesse men accordinge to their estate, then Liverpoole being poore, and now goes as it were a beginge, must pay very little. Letters patent are now sent for the same toun;* and if you shall tax men accordinge to their tradinge and profit by shippinge, then Lancaster, as I verely thinke, hath little to do that waye."

On this question of the apportionment of the levy, he consults his neighbour, Sir Cecil Trafford, of Trafford, who replies (3 January, 1635):—"I have perused our directions . . . for the levying of men and money within this county, and compared it to Cheshire, and find that sometime Cheshire hath byn equal to us, sometyme deeper charged, and sometime this county hath borne 3 parts and Cheshire 2. Yet I cleerely hold equallity is the best rate betweene the countyes, though Cheshire be lesser, yet it is generally better land, and not soe mucche mosses and barren ground in it."

These questions once settled (Cheshire being rated at £400, including £100 for the city; Lancashire at £498, including £15

* *i. e.* Letters soliciting charitable contributions, such as we now call 'Queen's letters.'

for Liverpool, and £8 for Lancaster), Chetham proceeded rapidly with his portion of the levy, and incurred charges amounting to £22, as to which, he says, "I moved for allowance, but could gett none."

In August, 1635, he received a second writ for ship money, by which the sum of £3,500 was levied upon Lancashire alone; and in the letter accompanying the writ, the lords of the council write that, "To prevent difficulty in the dividing the assessments upon the corporate towns . . . we do conceive that . . . Preston may well beare £50; Lancaster, £30; Liverpool, £20; Wiggan, £50; and so on." The worthy sheriff resolved that this time, at all events, he would not lose his expenses, and so levied £96, in addition to the £3,500, to cover the charges both of the present and of the former levies.

This piece of precaution was eagerly laid hold of by some who were his neighbours, but not his friends. Formal complaint was made to Lord Newburgh, Chancellor of the Duchy, who told Chetham's agent in London (his nephew, George Chetham), that such a proceeding was neither warrantable nor safe:—"I tould my lord," writes the nephew, "it was conterary to your mind to transgress in any kind; if you had not been misled by others you had not done this; and then Mr. Blundell . . . tould my lord the countree was more troubled and grieved to pay that which you levied for charges than to pay the £3,500 . . . and [that he had] asked the opinion of a judge, and the judge said 'Ytt was a starr-chamber bussines.'"

The issue was, that the sheriff was directed to repay the whole sum thus levied, excepting £3 15s. which had been abated to "poor people, and non-solvents." Chetham, nevertheless, delayed compliance with this order, and sent a messenger express to London to seek its repeal, furnishing him with a statement of the actual disbursements—amounting to £50 3s. 2d. (besides the £22 formerly expended, and another sum of £8 7s., spent in "the conveyance of witches from Manchester")—and with the instruction—"If I must returne the overplus which is remaining in my hands of the £96 back againe, gett me directions how I must pay it." He had evidently a strong impression that the decision was unjust, and as strong an inclination to keep all he could. It appears, however, that it was enforced, and that he was compelled to bear all the charges himself.

Whilst he was yet employed in the collection of the ship money, he had the misfortune to get embroiled with the College of Arms on that old and inexhaustible source of quarrel, the alleged appropriation of another man's bearings. There seems to be no evidence that he used arms before his shrievalty, but it is certain that he believed himself to be descended from the ancient Lancashire family of his name, and that the arms he assumed had been assigned to him by Randle Holme, Chester Herald.* Chetham, as we have seen, was of opinion that the office of sheriff in former times had fallen "very low;" nevertheless, his own elevation to it did not fail to excite

* Whetton, 'Foundations of Manchester,' ii, 145.

jealousy and ill-will; and, unfortunately, there was indisputable evidence that the coat-of-arms, borne before him at the assizes, was "Chadderton's coat." Threatened with a prosecution before the Earl Marshal, he was advised to seek the friendly assistance of his presumed kinsman, Thomas Chetham, of Nuthurst, who formally recognised him as descended "from a younger brother of the blood and lineage of my ancestors of the house of Nuthurst." On application to the College of Arms, a long dispute ensued; but, ultimately, his zealous friends (of whom Richard Johnson was the most active) obtained the confirmation of the pedigree and arms which had been claimed. On transmitting the "trick" of arms, Chetham's correspondent writes:—"We could not give Sir Henry St. George ('Norroy') less than 10 pieces. We hope he is content, though he said he hath had £20 for the like."

The worthy sheriff replies,—"They [the arms] are not depicted in soe good mettall as those armes wee gave for them; but when the herald meets with a novice he will double his gayne."

From proceedings recorded in the Exchequer it would seem that Chetham did not get fairly quit of the accounts of his shrievalty until March, 1640. In July, 1641, he was appointed "High Collector of Subsidies within the County of Lancaster," and by this appointment was drawn into a long series of difficulties and disputes with various authorities, both civil and military, during the strife between king and parliament. Some of his correspondence with Fairfax, and with other parliamentary commanders, is still preserved. Not the least curious amongst these documents are some letters which were interchanged between him and Colonel Robert Duckinfield, with respect to the maintenance of the garrisons of Liverpool and Lancaster. "They are in extreme want of monies," says the colonel, "and I will not suffer them to starve whilst I have charge of them." Chetham in vain represents that all the monies in his hands were long since exhausted, and entreats the Committee of Lords and Commons at Westminster "to satisfy Colonel Duckinfield out of the assessment of some other county." The rough Cromwellian soldier stuck to his declaration, that if Chetham did not pay the money within eight days, "I will send four troops of horse into your county that I can very well spare."

Although this particular infliction seems to have been escaped by a timely compromise, there is evidence that our worthy benefactor had personally his full share of the hardships of civil war. Amongst some papers endorsed "*Severall notts of particulars for the generall account of charges layd out for the warrs*," he writes:—"Having lent Mr. Francis Mosley £760, and requiring the same of him again, he directed me to take up half of the said sum of some of my neighbour shopkeepers in Manchester, and to give my bill of exchange for the same, to be paid by his partner at London, Mr. Robert Law, upon sight of the said bill, and the other half of my money to be paid likewise in exchange a month after that. In pursuance of which directions, before I could effect it, the said Mr. Mosley was proved a delinquent, and the said money intended for me, with the rest that he had in cash, in cloth, his debts, and debt books, and all other his goods, by order of Parliament, were sequestered and seized for the

public use; so, as hereby doth appear, there went to the Parliament, of my money, £760, and were an accompt required of losses sustained by the enemy (my house being three times entered and kept for a certain time, until all my goods, both within my house and without, were either spoiled or quite carried away), I could give an accompt to a very great value."

It was also Chetham's lot to have a great many law-suits, some of which appear to have lasted until his death. One of these was occasioned by a dispute which curiously illustrates the disturbed state of the times.

In April, 1648, the minister of the parish of Newton (in which Chetham had property) wrote to inform him that his nephew Travis had headed a large party in "Endeavouring to pull up Captain Whitworth's wear belonging to his mill." . . . "There hath been great throwing of stones, to the hazard of several men's lives. Bulwarks and cabins for the defence of themselves in the way or manner of war . . . have been made. Such a contention as this was never seen or heard of by any amongst us." "At length," he adds, "both parties were perswaded to yield thus far, untill your mind and pleasure were known about it." But, more than four years afterwards, we find proceedings still pending in the Duchy Court, between "Whitworth, plaintiff; and Chetham and Travis, defendants."

Such incidents as this, and others previously mentioned, if taken by themselves, would seem to indicate in Chetham a somewhat too rigid working out of his motto, *Quod tuum tene*. Their true explanation, however, may, I think, be found in the fact that his munificent benefactions were the purpose of his life, not the compunctious prompting of his death-bed meditations. His charities had been acts before they became legacies. Not only are several wills still in existence which show that for a quarter of a century, at least, before his death, he contemplated the posthumous devotion of a large portion of his wealth to educational uses—the character and scope of which widened as his means increased—but there is also evidence that he maintained and educated many poor fatherless children during his life-time. He was therefore entitled to look upon himself as a trustee for the poor, and as engaged in the protection of their rights, whilst preserving (somewhat sternly it may be) the fruits of his industry from loss and waste.

His death occurred at Clayton Hall, on the 12th of October, 1653, in the seventy-third year of his age. He died unmarried, and by his last will—made in December, 1651—left considerable legacies to relatives, friends, and servants. He had already in his lifetime settled large estates upon his nephews, one of whom succeeded him, both at Clayton and Turton.

By this will Chetham also bequeathed the sum of £7,500 to be expended in the foundation and endowment (after the manner therein directed) of an Hospital for the maintenance and education of forty poor boys for ever, and in putting them forth apprentices when of fitting age, unless "otherwise preferred, or provided for," and he directs that if, in course of time, any surplus revenue should accrue from any investment made in pursuance of such bequest, it shall be applied "for the augmentation of the number of poor boys, or for the

better maintenance and binding apprentice of the said forty poor boys." He also bequeathed £1000 to be expended in books, "For, or towards a Library within the town of Manchester for the use of scholars, and others well affected . . . the same books there to remain as a public library for ever; and my mind and will," he adds, "is, that care be taken that none of the said books be taken out of the said library at any time . . . and that the said books be fixed, or chained, as well as may be, within the said library, for the better preservation thereof. And I do hereby give . . . £1000 to be bestowed in purchasing . . . some fit place for the said library. . . . Also, I do hereby give and bequeath the sum of £200 to be bestowed by my executors in godly English books, such as Calvin's, Preston's, and Perkins' works, comments or annotations upon the Bible, or some parts thereof, or . . . other books . . . proper for the edification of the common people, to be chained upon desks, or to be fixed to the pillars, or in other convenient places, in the parish churches of Manchester and Bolton . . . and the chapels of Turton, Walmsley, and Gorton, in the said county of Lancaster, within one year next after my decease* . . . And as touching and concerning all the rest, residue, and remainder of all my goods, chattels, plate, leases for years, household stuff, and personal estate whatsoever . . . I do will and desire that all the said . . . residue . . . shall be bestowed in books, to be bought and disposed of, ordered and kept in such a place, and in such sort, as the said other books are to be, which are to be bought with the said sum of £1000 formerly herein by me bequeathed, for the further augmentation of the said library."†

The testator, during his life time, had been in treaty for the purchase of "The College," in Manchester, from the Parliamentarian "Committee of Sequestration for Lancashire," into whose hands it had come as part of the forfeited estate of James, Earl of Derby, that earl having inherited it from an ancestor to whom, as we have seen, it had been granted, by King Edward VI. on the first dissolution of the Collegiate Church. The agreement between Humphrey Chetham and the committee had even been drawn up and signed by several members, but on its being taken to another member, Mr. Thomas Birch, of Birch Hall, for his signature, that gentleman was pleased to endorse upon it certain conditions for Chetham's acceptance, which were thought to indicate distrust of his intentions, and which had the effect of defeating the project for a time. The will, however, directed the executors to make the purchase, if attainable on good terms, and it was effected accordingly in 1654.

* Many years, however, were to elapse before this bequest was carried into effect. Good Henry Newcome's patience was sorely tried before the 'English Library' was fairly placed in the 'ancient chantry, called Jesus Chapel,' sold to the parish for that purpose (in 1665) by Henry Pendleton. Newcome seems to have taken the chief pains in the arrangement of the books; and he records in his Diary, under Dec. 11, 1661: . . . 'I was crossed because my mind was so foolish to be set on such a thing as to be the chief doer in setting up the books . . . in that we could not bring the thing to perfection as we desired.'—Newcome's 'Diary,' (published by the Chetham Society), p. 30.

† This portion of the will is so incorrectly printed by Whatton as to be unintelligible. He seems to have copied the printed edition of 1791 without collation.

CHAPTER III.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF HUMPHREY CHETHAM—THEIR GROWTH AND FINANCIAL HISTORY.

IN the founder's will twenty-four persons were named who were to be the first Feoffees or Trustees of the charity, and it was directed that when this number should, by death, or otherwise, be reduced to twelve, they should elect other twelve 'honest, able, and sufficient persons, inhabiting within twelve miles of . . . Manchester,' to complete their number. These Feoffees were incorporated by royal charter in November, 1665.

Having obtained possession of "The College," the Feoffees removed thither the boys whom they had previously put out "to board" in the town, and set apart a portion of it for the reception of the Library. The selection of the books to be purchased the Founder himself had confided to Johnson, Hollingworth, and Tildesley, being those of his Feoffees who were clergymen. On the 20th of March, 1662, Newcome diarises:—"This day y^e matter of y^e library was fully settled between y^e feoffees and y^e exeutors . . . a thing these many years in doeing, and now done."* The first purchase of books had been made in August, 1655, and the expenditure of Chetham's original gift of £1000 was not fully accomplished until towards the end of 1663, when the library possessed about 1450 volumes—chiefly works of Theology and of History—some of which had been expressly imported from the Continent.+ These first purchases included not a few volumes of great intrinsic value, and now of extreme rarity, the prices paid for which contrast curiously (after due allowance is made for the difference in the value of money) with those which copies of the same books have sold for in our own day. Thus, Holland's *Herwologia*,—which has fetched from 5 guineas up to nearly 27 guineas, according to condition—was bought for 14s.; Purchas' *Pilgrimes*—which has ranged from £15 up to £46—cost £3 15s.; Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's*—sold in our day from £3 to £21—cost but 12s.; and his *Warwickshire*—which has brought, at auctions, from £9 to £18—27s. 6d. A multitude of similar instances might be cited. No donation to the library is recorded until near the close of the century.

* 'Diary,' *ut sup.* p. 69.

† It seems worth remark, that the library does not possess a single book which was the founder's; although in an 'Inventorie of the Goods at Tarton' (preserved amongst the Chetham Papers) we find 'Books . . . £20.'

With respect to the proceeds and application of that 'residue' of his personal estate which the Founder had directed to be bestowed in the augmentation of his library, there is considerable difficulty in making a clear and accurate statement. Between Mr. Whatton's account (in the "Foundations of Manchester") and that given by the "Commissioners for inquiring concerning Charities in England and Wales," in their sixteenth Report, there are material discrepancies, and the "Chetham Papers" which I have seen do not enable me to reconcile these conflicting accounts. Mr. Whatton's statement runs thus:—"With respect to the residue of the testator's property, they [the executors] took credit to themselves for the sum of £2,556, as the value of an estate at Hammerton, and other places in the parish of Slaidburn, which they conveyed to the trustees for the use of the library, and they assigned to the trustees by the deed to which the account was annexed, in money and debts, the sum of £1,782 12s. 9d. as the remainder thereof."†

Thus, if this statement be correct, it would seem that the library was entitled, in all, to the sum of £4338 12s. 9d. as the proceeds of the testator's residue, over and above the sum of £1100 expressly bequeathed to it. In another part of the narrative Mr. Whatton says:—"The residue of the testator's personal property, amounting to the sum of £1,782 12s. 8d. appears to have been laid out in the purchase of . . . [estates situate in the town and parish of Rochdale in Lancashire], in the years 1686 and 1691, though of this fact there are no particulars. The amount of the purchase-money paid for these estates was £1800. It is not stated from what source that money was derived, but the rents have always been carried to the account of the *hospital*."*

The Charity Commissioners, on the other hand, thus report:—"The legacies for books and establishment of the library were applied as directed by the testator; but in the disposition of the residue of the personal estate, amounting to £2,556, there appears to have been some misappropriation. A part of this sum was laid out in the Hammerton estate, in Yorkshire, and the remainder in the purchase of property in the parish of Rochdale, in Lancashire; and the rents of the former have been carried to the use of the library, but of the latter to the account of the *hospital*."||

† Whatton, in 'Foundations of Manchester,' iii. 239.

* Whatton, *ut supra*, iii. 224.

|| 'Further Report of the Commissioners of enquiry concerning Charities,' 24th June, 1826, as abridged in 'An account of Public Charities in England and Wales' 1828. p. 671. COMP. REPORT OF SELECT COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LIBRARIES.—*Evidence of T. Jones, Esq., B.A.*:—"1165.—Q. 'Did the Charity Commissioners make any report on Chetham's Library? A. Yes, they did; and a mistake has arisen from their report that the money has been misdirected.' ["To the answer I gave in my evidence, I desire to add, that their report originated the apprehension which is entertained in this neighbourhood, that the money left for the augmentation of the library was employed for a different purpose, viz., for the benefit of the hospital; that the documents which were laid before the commissioners shew that of the £1,782, the residue of the testator's property, due to the library,—but of the disposal of which the commissioners announce that they could find no statement,—about £1,100 were never received, but continued to the end *bad debts*; and that they also indicate the source from whence the money was derived which enabled the trustees to purchase two estates, the consideration for which amounted to £1,800, and the rents of which, *without any injury being done to the library*, have always been carried to the account of the hospital."] It is surely much to be regretted that a mis-statement made by a Royal Commission of Inquiry should remain for more than *twenty years* uncorrected.

Both accounts, it will be seen, agree in the assertion—whether that assertion be correct or incorrect—that funds properly belonging to the Library have been misappropriated to the Hospital, but they differ materially as to the actual amount of the residue; and I am bound to admit that it is not only possible but probable that both might be in error as to any direct *misappropriation* at all. But if this be so, gross blame attaches to those who suffered the Royal Commission to be misled by evidence which was inaccurate, or who failed to supply them with evidence both accurate and ample. The Charity Report, it may be added, was first published in 1826, and Mr. Whatton's work nearly two years later.

In the year 1693, the library had increased by successive purchases (the whole cost of which, from the commencement, had then amounted to £2,469), to 3,543 volumes. About that date, the Rev. John Prestwich appears as a donor of "books to the value of £50 and upwards." Soon afterwards, Dr. William Stratford gave "books to the number of 300 and upwards;" but the whole number of volumes stated to have been presented, up to the year 1842, is only about 450, or little more than two volumes a year on the average. It was fortunate that Chetham's noble benefaction was not entirely dependent for its growth on the efficacy of his example.

Until the year 1743, there is an uninterrupted register of purchases. In that year their total amount had reached £5,127 19s. 9d.; so that, exclusive of the original outlay, there had been devoted to the acquisition of books upwards of £50 a year on the average, and the money appears to have been very judiciously expended. About 1740, several fortunate sales appear to have occurred in the neighbourhood. At one of these, two productions of the press of Wynkyn de Worde were purchased for five shillings and sixpence, namely: Fisher's "Exposycion of the VII penytentyal Psalmes" (1508), and the "Nova Legenda Sanctorum Angli" (1516). The former is so rare that no sale of it is recorded by Lowndes. The latter has fetched from £5 to £7. The excessively rare work of Father Parsons, "The Three Conversions of England," cost fifteen shillings, and his "Conference about the Next Succession to the Crown of England," one shilling. Tyndal's "Practyse of Prelates" was bought for one shilling and sixpence, and his "Brief Declaration of the Sacrament," for one shilling and sevenpence. The curious English version of Erasmus' "Enchiridion Militis Christiani" (1544) cost but sixpence; and the acme of cheapness seems to be attained in the purchase of Sir Thomas Smyth's Treatise "De Republica Anglorum," Raleigh's "Prerogatives of Parliaments," and Burton's "Protestation protested," at the price of fourpence for the three.

Of course, by way of set-off, we may find instances of books purchased (in the regular market) at prices far beyond their present value; as, for example, "L'Antiquité Expliquée," of Montfaucon (best edition and with the supplement), which cost £30—a sum that would now more than purchase two such copies. The preponderance, however, is very much on the side of "good bargains."

The comparative progress and the diversified financial history of the two branches of this noble Charity, will be best and most succinctly exhibited if we trace it under the four distinct heads of—1. ENDOWMENT; 2. REVENUE; 3. OUTGOINGS; 4. NET INCOME.

First, as to ENDOWMENT: The Hospital was endowed with a sum of £7,000 (or with rent-charges deemed equivalent thereto), in addition to £500 for the purchase of a building. The Library was endowed with the sum of £1,000 (to be at once expended in books), and with the further proceeds of the testator's residue—amounting, in the gross, if we are to take the testimony of the historian of the *Foundations of Manchester* (published subsequently to the investigations of Lord Brougham's Charity Commission), to no less a sum than £4,388 12s. 9d., in addition to £100 for the purchase or adaptation of a building. In round numbers, therefore, the endowment of the Library was to the endowment of the Hospital as 43 is to 70, or somewhat more than *three-fifths*.

Secondly, as to the GROSS INCOME OR REVENUE: The testator's will contains no directions as to the investment of the proceeds of his residue, but simply directs that they "shall be bestowed by my executors in books . . . for the further augmentation of the said library," leaving the manner of such augmentation to their discretion, and that of his three feoffees above-named. Accordingly, the deed by which the Hammerton Estate was conveyed by the executors to the feoffees, in March, 1661, recites:—"That upon serious debate and consideration, it was conceived that it would be more beneficial for the advancement of the said library that the sum £2,600 [which 'they had *then* remaining in their hands'] should be laid out in the purchase of some lands or tenements, to the intent that the yearly rents and profits of the same should be employed, as well for the buying of books, yearly or otherwise, as also for the repairing, fitting, and ordering of the said library, and the buildings thereto belonging, than to lay out the residue of the said personal estate at once."

The estate thus purchased, cost, as we have already seen, £2,556, and, in 1811, it produced £715 per annum. It now produces but £500 per annum.

The Rochdale Estate, which both Mr. Whatton, and the Commissioners for Inquiry into Charities, as we have seen, assert, (whether correctly or incorrectly) to have been purchased with part of the testator's *residue*—whatever the amount of that residue may have been,—appears to produce £471 16s. 11d. per annum, notwithstanding the granting of building leases for 999 years, and the absolute sale and alienation of portions of this estate for sums amounting, in the aggregate, to £6875, which sum has been invested in stock, and produces an annual dividend of £272. The total present income of the Rochdale Estate is, therefore, £743 16s. 11d., the whole of which is carried, not to the account of the Library, but to the account of the *Hospital*.

The only income at present accruing to the library, other than that of the Hammerton Estate, is the dividend of a sum of £1,050, Three-and-a-Quarter per cents (in lieu of £1,000 late Navy Five per

cents), purchased in 1820, out of a balance which had accrued from the surplus of income beyond expenditure. The present income of the Library is, therefore, £534 2s. 6d. What, on the other hand, is the present income of the Hospital? It is thus stated by Mr. Whatton:—*

Rents of the Sutton Estate	£1696	12	0
„ „ Rochdale Estate	471	16	11
Ordsall Rent Charge	102	0	0
Dividends on Stock	337	15	0
Total	£2608	3	11

It follows, therefore, that the income of the Library, as compared with the income of the Hospital, is as 53 to 260, or about *one-fifth*.

Apart altogether from the question of the alleged *diversion* of a part of the residue from the Library to the Hospital, it will be observed, that, by some mischance or other, all the good fortune of a *profitable* investment has lighted upon the latter, and all the bad fortune of an *unprofitable* one, upon the former. The £1800 invested at Rochdale, for the Hospital, brings £740 a year; the £2500 invested at Hammerton, for the Library, brings £500 a year.

Again, the Sutton estate, in Derbyshire, belonging to the Hospital, (which at the time of its purchase is said to have produced about £350 a-year) brought in, between 1811 and 1820, £1,100 a-year. It produced, at the date of the Commissioners' Report, and, at present, I believe produces £1,696 a-year. The Hammerton estate, belonging to the Library, produced, between 1811 and 1820, £715 a-year. It now produces £500 a-year. The one, during forty years, has *increased* fifty per cent; the other, during the same period, has *decreased* nearly thirty-three per cent.

Thirdly, as to the OUTGOINGS, or what may be termed "dead weight" charges upon the income: Of these, the principal items are stated to be for the repairs of the College building, and of the farmsteads on the estate in Yorkshire; and for the expenses of dinners for the feoffees and officers on the days of meeting. As to the repairs of the building itself, Mr. Whatton says:—"Of these expenses two-thirds were charged previously to 1818 to the account of the Hospital, and one-third to the account of the library. They are now divided equally, the whole sum being carried, in the first instance, to the account of the Hospital, and credit taken for the receipt of one moiety thereof as from the Library." After stating that from 1818 to 1825 inclusive (eight years) these ordinary repairs had cost £1,380 17s. 9d., he adds, "In 1822 there was erected at the Hospital a new washhouse and laundry, the cost of which was £411 4s. 6d., one moiety of which was charged to the library account in the same manner as the ordinary repairs."† After describing various other disbursements, he proceeds to "the expenses of the dinners provided for the governors and officers of the Hospital on the days

* *Ut supra*, 234.

† Whatton, iii., 235.

of meeting. For these the governors have laid in a stock of old wine, for the cost of which and of the dinners, *one moiety is repaid from the Library account, in the same manner as above-mentioned, with respect to the expenses of repairs.*"

"The following sums," he adds, "appear in the treasurer's accounts, since 1800, for wine thus purchased." Then follow the items, amounting, between the years 1800 and 1825 inclusive, to £454 4s.* The cost of the dinners is given only for the three years, 1823, 1824, 1825, and the average of these years is £29 2s. 8d.; if this be a fair average for the entire twenty five years, the amount would be £728 6s. 8d., making a total cost under this head of £1,182 10s. 2d., of which £591 5s. 4d. was charged to the Library.

Of the cost of repairs to the farm buildings at Hammerton, an account was given in evidence before the Commons' Committee on Public Libraries in 1849, by which it appears that these repairs, together with the charge for some heating apparatus, &c., for the library itself, amounted in the five preceding years to £1,245, or £249 a-year on the average.† This sum appears to include the moiety for repairs to the college building (if any) during that period. Subsequently a very large expenditure has been incurred in the thorough repair and restoration of the building, which is not nearly completed.

There are, in addition to the foregoing, two other fixed charges against the Library towards the salaries of the steward and solicitor, amounting to £16 10s. a-year.

Fourthly, as to the NET INCOME available for the support and increase of the Library: It has been seen that the various charges on the income assigned to the library, which have had to be met before a shilling has been available for its proper service, have, for a long series of years, amounted, at the least, to £290 a-year; there remains, therefore, barely £240 to defray the librarian's salary, &c., to pay for bookbinding and other incidental expenses, to keep up the "works in progress" and periodical publications already in the library, and to purchase new books. The first item in this list absorbs £145—a very inadequate sum, by the way, for the services of such a man as the present librarian—which leaves £99 for all the rest.

That poverty of the library, in respect of recent literature, which I shall have in the next chapter to describe, is therefore, no subject of surprise; and it is quite as natural that we should find a very large number of the old books in decayed and tattered bindings, and many of them covered with a venerable coating of dust. It would seem, indeed, as if former trustees had had a notion that *not to be disturbed* was as good for their old books as for their old wine.

Although the librarian has the entire charge and care of a collection of upwards of 18,000 volumes, he has, until very recently, had no assistance of any kind, save that of an occasional schoolboy or two from the hospital. It appears, in short, that as respects all

* Whatton, iii., 236.

† 'Public Libraries Report—Minutes of Evidence of 1849,' (T. Jones, Esq.) Q. 1106, p. 75.

the appliances necessary for conservation or increase, the library is worse provided than it was a century ago.

Fortunately for the reputation of the Feoffees, the condition of the Hospital is very different. Its revenues are flourishing. The character of the school has been greatly improved. The number of the boys maintained and educated, has been successively increased from forty to sixty, from sixty to eighty, and, within the last eight years, from eighty to one hundred. Had the Library but kept pace with the School, there would be small cause for dissatisfaction with the administration of Chetham's trust.

CHAPTER IV.

AN ENDOWED LIBRARY OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY; ITS CURIOUS MSS. AND FINE OLD BOOKS.—A RATE-SUPPORTED LIBRARY OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY; ITS MODERN BOOKS AND ITS COLLECTIONS ON COMMERCE.—WOULD IT BE FOR THE ADVANTAGE OF MANCHESTER TO UNITE THEM?

EARLY in the eighteenth century, the Chetham Library was visited by several eminent men, some of whom have recorded their visits in their published works. Amongst the latter are De Foe; Dr. Stukely, the antiquarian; and that "curiosity of literature" who is known as George Psalmanazar. De Foe writes:—"By the bounty of the said founder is also erected a very fair and spacious library, already furnished with a competent stock of choice and valuable books, to the number of near 4,000, and daily increasing with the income of £116 per annum."*

Dr. Stukely's notice is very curt, and very characteristic of himself. "The College," he says, "founded by *Chetham, a tradesman*, has a good library."†

Psalmanazar is better worth quoting than either of the preceding:—"At Manchester I had, moreover, the opportunity of frequently visiting a noble library belonging to Chetham College, and well furnished with all manner of books that could be purchased for money: for it is endowed with £100 per annum to supply it with new ones as they come out; and yet, when I was there, they had about £400 in bank, and scarce knew how to lay it out, insomuch that they were thinking of purchasing some of the most curious MSS. This, I could not but observe to them, was ill judged, considering the situation of it among tradesmen, who have neither taste nor knowledge for such valuable pieces . . . and rather advised them to lay out that income in purchasing such valuable modern books as are yearly published, both in England and out of it; and which I thought would better answer the intention of the noble donor. They seemed to acquiesce in that I said, but whether they followed my advice or not, I never enquired since."§

* 'Journey through Great Britain.' 2d edition, 1738), iii., 177.

† 'Itinerarium Curiosum,' Centuria ii., 29.

§ 'Memoirs....of George Psalmanazar.' (1764.) pp. 243-344. His visit took place in 1761.

Very fortunately the Feoffees and librarians did *not* follow the advice of the Historian of Formosa. And hence it is that the library possesses a collection of MSS., few in number, indeed, but of great value. The records of their acquisition are sparse and meagre—whether from the fear of critical censure, or from any other cause—so that the history of some of the most curious of them cannot now be traced. Some description of the most noteworthy will be hereafter attempted. But it must also be remarked that the purchases of printed books appear to be very irregularly entered, subsequently to the year 1743. Such entries as appear relate chiefly to the acquisition of costly and valuable works in Topography and Natural History, especially between the years 1778 and 1787. At this period, for example, it is recorded £58 was given for Boydell's Shakspeare; £20 7s. for Martin's Universal Conchologist; £26 15s. for a set of Hogarth's Works; and £27 10s. for "100 drawings of birds by Mr. Abbott, of Savannah, in Georgia," afterwards bound into volumes.

In 1791 a catalogue* of the library was prepared and published by the Reverend John Radcliffe, M.A., the then librarian (afterwards, I believe, Rector of Limehouse, near London). This catalogue is arranged under the following five principal classes:

I. THEOLOGIA.	IV. SCIENTIÆ ET ARTES.
II. JURISPRUDENTIA.	V. LITERÆ HUMANIORES.
III. HISTORIA.	

Under this arrangement, the first class includes Canon Law, but not Ecclesiastical History. Politics and Commerce form a subdivision of History; and Philosophy is the first subdivision of Science and Arts.

The total number of separate entries in these two volumes is, of printed works, 6,679, and of MSS. 44. But, as collections of several treatises bound together, and collections of tracts on any one subject—whatever the number of pieces, or of volumes,—respectively appear only as single entries, that number does not represent the total of distinct printed works which the library then contained. These appear to have amounted to about 7,160, and the number of *volumes* to 11,497. The catalogue was, in some respects, carefully compiled, and contains many useful notes and references.

To this catalogue a supplement was published in 1826, by the Rev. William Parr Greswell (the author of the "Annals of Parisian Typography," &c.), who was especially employed by the Feoffees in its compilation. Mr. Greswell included in his task the preparation of indexes to the preceding volumes, as well as to his own, but (for what reason it is hard to guess) printed the index of each volume separately. The total number of entries in the supplement, is, of printed works, 1,255, and of MSS., 51. The total number of volumes

* "Bibliothecæ Chethamensis: sive Bibliothecæ publicæ Mancuniensis ab Humfredo Chetham fundatæ Catalogus." 2 vols. March, 1791-2. 8vo.

contained in the original catalogue and the supplement together, is 14,276, the classification of which may be given as follows:

		Volumes.
I.	THEOLOGY	3,261
II.	HISTORY	4,075
III.	JURISPRUDENCE	681
IV.	SCIENCES AND ART	3,403
V.	LITERATURE	2,856
Total,		14,276

In these days,—the venerable folio and the handsome quarto having alike become almost as truly *extinct* as the mastodon, or the megatherium,—to know the mere proportions of the several sizes in a library is enough to afford a sort of rough sketch of the age and character of the books of which it is composed. It may, therefore, be worth while to state that of these 14,276 volumes, no less than 9,843 are folios and quartos, and only 4,433 octavos “*et infra*.”

If not from time immemorial, at all events since the days of Mr. Radcliffe, (the librarian who compiled the first two volumes of the above-mentioned catalogue, and who, distracted by an attempt to rearrange the library, returned to the old collocation of the books), the “classes,” or recesses, as well as the compartments of book-shelves on the opposite wall, have been distinguished by the letters of the alphabet, one letter being assigned to each side of a “class.” Thus, the five classes along the shorter corridor are thus denoted:—The first class (that nearest the library), A and B; the second, C and D, and so on, the fifth marked I and K, being what is called the “librarian’s class.” The large corner class adjoining this, at the angle of the corridors, has long been called (why I know not) the “Arch class;” and between it and the extremity of the long corridor, are nine other classes, marked, as before, L M, N O, &c., till the alphabet is expended, and then the eighth and ninth classes of that line (the 14th and 15th of the entire number) are marked Aa and Bb; Cc and Dd. the corresponding compartments of the opposite wall are distinguished in the same way by letters painted over them, from Ee to Mm; and the wall of the shorter corridor from Nn to Qq, which is the compartment opposite the class A, near the reading room door. The old arrangement of the books, then, was as follows:—

CLASSES:—

- A & B. Biblia Sacra.
- C. Concilia.
- D & E. Patres et Scriptores Ecclesiastici.
- F. Annotationes in Novum Testamentum.
- G & H. Annotationes in Vetus Testamentum.
- I & K. Dictionaria et Lexica.
- Arch. Historia Naturalis, &c.
- L. De Disciplinâ Ecclesiasticâ, &c.
- M. Theologia Practica.

- N. Theologia Polemica.
- O. Historia Ecclesiastica.
- P. Historia et Antiquitates.
- Q. Historia Britannica.
- R. Historia Gallica, Germanica, et Italica.
- S. Historia, Geographia et Inscriptiones.
- T. Historia Græca et Romana, &c.
- U. Philosophia : Mathematica.
- W. Philosophia : Physica et Metaphysica.
- X. Philosophia : Lexica et Grammatica.
- Y. Philosophia : Mythologia et Critica.
- Z. Classici Græci et Latini.
- Aa. Historia Naturalis.
- Bb. Medicina.
- Cc. Jus Civile.
- Dd. Jus Anglicanum.

THE WALL SHELVES :

- Ee & Ff. Medici et Botanici.
- Gg. Lexica et Bibilotheca.
- Hh. Numismata et Itinera.
- Ii. Historia Profana.
- Kk. Historia et Antiquitates Britannicæ.
- Ll. Historia et Antiquitates variarum Gentium.
- Mm. Theologia Polemica et Practica.
- Nn. Philologia Sacra.
- Oo & Pp. Scriptores Ecclesiastici.
- Qq. Libri Liturgici.

In lieu of this now unsatisfactory classification, the present librarian has arranged the books on a more simple and every way better plan; grouping them, according to the relations of the subjects on which they treat. The works bearing on theology and religion, which in bulk form nearly a third of the whole, are now all collected together into the classes and the opposite shelves of the shorter corridor, between the librarian's class and the reading-room; and, in the classification of this great department of literature, Mr. Jones has followed the principles of arrangement long since adopted in Bishop Marsh's Library, at Dublin. The following, then, is the present order in which the books are arranged :—

CLASSES :

- A & B. Bibles, Biblical Criticism, and Jewish Antiquities.
- C & D. Interpreters (including the Fathers); works on the authenticity and credibility of the Bible, and Doctrinal Divinity.
- E & F. Doctrinal, Controversial, and Practical Divinity, (including the Fathers).
- G & H. Controversial Divinity and Ecclesiastical History (including the Councils).

THE WALL SHELVES:

Gg to Qq.	[On a line of shelves].	Ecclesiastical History (including the Fathers).
Qq.	[On eight shelves].	Liturgical and ritual books.
Nn to Qq.	[One line of shelves].	Theology in all its branches.
Ditto.	[Ditto].	The Schoolmen.
Ditto.	[Ditto].	Dogmatic and casuistic writers (including the Reformers).
Ditto.	[Ditto].	Bibliography & literary history.
Ditto.	[Ditto].	Catalogues of libraries.

CLASSES:

- I & K and A: ch. (The librarian's class). Works of Philology, Literary History, Memoirs of Societies, Bibliographical Curiosities, and Illustrated works.
- L & M. Metaphysical and political works; the Topography and History of the counties of Lancaster and Chester.
- N & O. Political works; Physical Science.
- P & Q. Natural philosophy; Medicine.
- R & S. Transactions and memoirs of learned societies, and foreign academies, relating to Mathematics, Physics, Manufactures, and the Arts.
- T & U. Topography, History, and Antiquities.
- W & X. History and Antiquities.
- Y & Z. Classical Literature and Criticism.
- Aa & Bb. Polite Literature and Polygraphy.
- Cc & Dd. Law.

THE WALL SHELVES:

- Ee to Mm. Topography, History, Antiquities, and Public Records, (including the Byzantine historians and other collections.)
- Ditto [On 8vo. shelves]. Literary History and Reviews.

By a comparison of the former with the present arrangement, it will be perceived that the latter has many advantages, and that a book will be much more easily found than under the old mode of classification.

The weak point of this fine old library lies in its almost total want of recent literature. Its old books are excellent, but they need to be better supplemented by new ones. The collection—once the best public library in England, those of the metropolis, and of the two university towns alone excepted,—has (only for a time, I trust,) dwindled into comparative insignificance, because it has kept no sort of pace with the growth of literature. From 1825 to 1845, only 1,250 volumes of *any kind* were added to it, or but 60 volumes yearly, on the average, both by purchase and donations together.

By the exertions of the present learned and zealous librarian, Mr. Thomas Jones (appointed in 1851), a marked improvement has begun, but his task has been sadly up-hill! By dint of unwearied application to the principal publishing societies of the United Kingdom, and to many individual authors—more especially to such as are of the clergy of the Church of England—he has succeeded in obtaining, during nine years, 950 volumes by donation. Whilst, on the other hand, by earnestly pressing on the attention of the Feoffees the importance of completing *some* of the many valuable but imperfect works already in the library, as well as of adding a few of the most indispensable recent works, he has obtained by purchase, during the same period, about 990 volumes, at a cost of £412. This, however, shows a yearly outlay on books (exclusive of that on the binding and repairing of old works) of but £45 a year; whilst, almost at the very foundation of the library, at least £50 a year (equal to a much larger sum of our present currency), if we may trust the statements of De Foe and Psalmanazar, was available for that purpose.

But whether these statements be in detail accurate or inaccurate;—whether we are to take them as extracts from the note-books of honest travellers, or to class them with the imaginary biographies of the one author, and the fabulous history of the other;—it has, at all events, been made perfectly clear that the growth and progress of the Library of our benefactor have kept no sort of pace with the growth and progress of his Hospital.

The plain fact is, that the library has, in past times, been starved in order that its more fortunate foster-brother might the better thrive. Minds of all shapes and sizes can see the importance and value of a SCHOOL, especially if the children in it be tricked out in a conspicuous *livery*, and plentifully be-ticketed and be-badged. But the worth of a LIBRARY is not so salient. The dead worthies, who in close serried ranks occupy its shelves,—often in wrappings which smack but too strongly of the grave,—are to some ears dumb, and to some eyes unlovely. Here, in a special sense, it is always true that the ear hears and the eyes see but what they bring. The contrast, in point of prosperity, between “Hospital” and “Library,” whilst under the same management, would be quite a marvel but for this.

The best chance of improvement in the condition and public usefulness of the Library lies in its severance altogether from the Hospital. And this, I believe, could be so effected as at once to carry out all the intentions of the founder far more efficiently than they have been carried out hitherto; to exonerate the trustees from a portion of their task to which their resources have ceased to be adequate, and to confer a great and lasting benefit on the city of Manchester.

By the amended Public Libraries Act of 1855, all corporate towns in England, having a population of 5,000, are empowered to establish and maintain public libraries, by levying a rate, not exceeding one penny in the pound, on the property in such towns already assessable to the borough rate, and such libraries once established are for ever inalienable. Similar powers are also given to certain other classes of towns, and to parishes, under regulations which are described in the note appended to this chapter.

It is well known that the first library established under the Public Libraries Act of 1850, was the Free Library of Manchester, the foundation of which was laid by a public subscription of almost unprecedented liberality (originated by Sir John Potter, then Mayor of the Borough), and the working of which has been successful to a degree heretofore without example in any town within the United Kingdom. With a collection of printed books, which now exceeds 28,000 volumes (brought together by donation and by purchase within four years), there has been an aggregate issue of books in this library, to readers of EVERY CLASS OF SOCIETY, amounting, in less than three years, to 400,000 volumes. Notwithstanding this great issue, but twelve volumes have been lost to the library from any cause whatever, yet the reference department is, of course, unrestrictedly open to all comers, and its *lending* department is freely accessible to all who can produce a voucher or "guarantee" from two burgesses.

The Reference Collection includes an extraordinary assemblage of Books and Tracts in all languages, on political and commercial subjects, extending already to upwards of 15,000 separate publications, dating from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century, and including the best portions of the celebrated collections of Nicholas Magens, of Thomas Harrison (a late Commissioner of Inland Revenue), of the late Lords Bexley and Langdale, of Mr. Drummond Hay, of Mr. William Mellish, of Mr. Francis Place (of the Political Economy Club), and of several other well known collectors.

The average daily number of readers, since the opening, in the reference department of this library, has exceeded 200. At the Chetham Library, the average daily number of readers, five years ago, was twenty-five; it has now dwindled to less than ten. In brief, it may be said, that more use has been made of the books in the Free Library, within three years, than has been made of those in the Chetham Library within eighty years; yet the first-named collection has lost twelve volumes from its lending department and none from its reference department, and the other has lost one hundred and fifty,* as stated in the valuable evidence given by the present librarian to the Libraries Committee of 1849.

If these facts could be placed before a resuscitated Humphrey Chetham—shrewd, business-like, energetic, and beneficent, as we have seen that he was—who can doubt the view he would take of them? If, moreover, we could tell him that all those "Godly English books, such as Calvin's, Preston's, and Perkins' works, and Comments or Annotations upon the Bible," which he directed to be carefully chained upon desks, or fixed in other convenient places in the churches of Manchester and Bolton, and in the chapels of Turton and Walmsley, FOR THE EDIFICATION OF THE COMMON PEOPLE," have almost entirely disappeared, not by wear or bad usage, but by the neglect and the cupidity of churchwardens—long since in their graves—can any one believe that he would hesitate a moment to transfer his library to the keeping of the whole town, through its responsible authorities, and, by such transfer, TO MULTIPLY TENFOLD

* This number applies to the whole period of the library's existence. None of the loss, I believe, has been sustained very recently.

THE SECURITIES FOR ITS CAREFUL PRESERVATION AND BEFITTING AUGMENTATION, AND TO INCREASE A HUNDREDFOLD ITS USEFULNESS TO ALL CLASSES OF HIS TOWNSMEN?

Nor is this all. The same step which would relieve the books of their antique dust, and change their torn and rotting covers into sound and respectable bindings, which would complete many a valuable but now imperfect series of volumes, and fill up many a gap in every "class," by adding to it the best recent works in its several departments of knowledge, would also enable the Feoffees to carry out efficiently that enlargement and improvement of the school, or "Hospital," which they and their predecessors have so honourably begun. It would not only afford them the means of at least trebling the original number of the boys to be maintained and educated (already, as we have seen, more than doubled by successive augmentations), but, which is of much greater importance, it would enable them to improve the character of the education afforded, and thus to achieve far more in that good work of preparing boys of humble, but respectable parentage, to become honest, industrious, and prosperous citizens, which the founder had so much at heart.

Obviously an Act of Parliament would be needed to effect any such separation of the Chetham Library from the Chetham Hospital, as is here suggested. But that the Corporation of Manchester, were such a proposal submitted to it, would be willing to join the Feoffees in applying for such an Act, and would undertake to maintain the library for the free and perpetual use of the public either in connection with the Library already belonging to the town, or separately, (if that were deemed preferable,) can, I think, be a matter of no sort of doubt to those who are conversant with the manner in which that Corporation has hitherto discharged its public trusts. The advantage to all classes of the citizens which would result from the proposed transfer, would fully justify Parliament in empowering the Feoffees to devote all their funds to the support of their school, should that step, on deliberate consideration, appear to be expedient. The Chetham books might be preserved intact, as a collection, and yet for all useful purposes be incorporated with the existing Free Library, and might thus remain a public and perpetual memorial of the Founder. The fine old building—the preservation of which I, for one, would not, on any consideration, consent to imperil—would become wholly available for the uses of the school, which is at present much in want, but entirely without prospect, of increased accommodation. Manchester would possess both a better "Chetham Hospital," and a better "Chetham Library," than it has at present; and thus the wishes and intentions of its liberal benefactor would be more efficiently realised than they ever can be under the arrangements which now obtain.

It may, however, be objected that the Chetham Library itself is scarcely worth the trouble and cost proposed to be incurred, since it is so generally said to consist, for the most part, of "old theology." The answer to this objection,—waiving altogether the very doubtful appreciation it seems to involve of the real value of the "old theology" referred to,—is that the popular notion on this head is but a popular mistake.

Of the whole number of printed volumes—more than 18,000—whilst the library now contains, upwards of 5,000 are historical; nearly 4,000 relate to the Sciences and Arts, and almost as many to the class Literature, including under that head collective and encyclopædical works. The number of volumes in the class Theology, is about 4,000, and includes a noble series of editions of the Bible, and of commentaries, and other biblical apparatus. The historical section of the library includes a very fine series of the chroniclers and older HISTORIANS of continental Europe, especially when these have been brought together into national collections," as by Muratori for Italy,—*"Rerum Italicarum Scriptores;"* *"Annali d'Italia;"* *"Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi;"* &c.; by Bouquet, and his successors, for France,—*"Recueil des Historiens des Gaules;"* *"Historiens des Croisades;"* &c.; by Langebek, for Denmark and Iceland,—*"Rerum Danicarum Scriptores;"* and *"Scripta Historica Islandorum;"* by Struve, Freher, Wegelin, Eccard, Offellius, Schilter, Pez, and others, for Germany, and the neighbouring countries,—*"Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores;"* *"Corpus Historiæ Germanicæ;"* *"Rerum Bohemicarum Scriptores aliquot insignes;"* *"Rerum Hungaricarum Scriptores;"* *"Thesaurus rerum Suevicarum;"* *"Corpus Historicum Medii Aevi;"* *"Res Germanicæ;"* *"Rerum Boicarum Scriptores;"* *"Thesaurus Antiquitatum Teutonicarum;"* *"Rerum Austriacarum Scriptores;"* &c.; and by many more for other countries. It also possesses a fine series of illustrated books in various departments of literature; as, for example, in the FINE ARTS, the *"Museum Florentinum"* (in ten volumes, folio); the *"Galerie Royale de Dresde;"* the *"Antichità di Ercolano"* (in nine volumes, folio); the *"Liber Veritatis"* of Claude (three volumes, folio); the *"Galleria Giustiniana"* (two volumes, folio); the *"Etruscan Antiquities"* of Hamilton, and his *"Ancient Vases"* (together, seven volumes, folio);—in NATURAL HISTORY, the *"Historiæ sive Synopsis Methodica Conchyliorum . . . libri iv.,"* of Lister; the *"Histoire Générale des Insectes"* of Merian—still curious, though, of course, superseded—the *"Plantæ Asiaticæ rariores"* of Wallich (three volumes, folio); the *"Sertum Orchideum"* of Lindley; the *"Testacea utriusque Siciliæ"* (three volumes, folio, from the fine press of Bodoni, at Parma); the *"Histoire Naturelle des Perroquets,"* and *"Histoire Naturelle des Oiseaux de Paradis, des Toucans,"* &c., of Le Vaillant (nine volumes, folio,—fine copies of which have sold in France for 1,200 francs); the *"Monandrian Plants"* of Roscoe; the *"Poissons Fossiles"* of Agassiz (five volumes, folio); and the *"Birds of Europe,"* *"Birds of Australia,"* &c., of Gould:—in BRITISH ARCHEOLOGY, the *"Sepulchral Monuments"* of Gough; the *"Monumental Effigies"* of Stothard; and the *"Monumental Remains"* of Blore:—and, in VOYAGES AND TRAVELS, the *"Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce,"* the *"Voyage Pittoresque de la Syrie,"* the *"Voyage Pittoresque de l'Istrie,"* the *"Voyage Pittoresque de la Naples,"* the *"Voyage Pittoresque de Sicile,"* the *"Voyage Pittoresque des Isles de Sicile"* (in all, thirteen volumes, folio). But many of these fine books are, unfortunately, incomplete.

Many other printed books, uniting rarity with intrinsic worth, which are contained in the Chetham Library, have been mentioned

already—with reference to the time and cost of their acquisition. But many of equal or greater curiosity remain to be indicated, as far as may consist with the limits to which these pages must be restricted.

The following relate to America. These I arrange chronologically; the others alphabetically:—

1596. Monardus. Joyfull newes out of the new-found worlde.

Englished by John Frampton, B. L. Lond. *E. Alde*. 1596. 4o.

1622. A Relation or Journal of the beginning and proceedings of the English Plantation settled at Plimouth, in New-England. [Mourt.] Lond. 1622. 4o.

1630. New-England's Plantation, or a short and true description of the commodities and discommodities of that countrey, &c. Lond. 1630. 4o.

1648. Gage. New Survey of the West Indias. Lond. 1648. 4o

1689. A brief relation of the State of New England. Lond. 1689. 4o.

1703. [Gueudeville.] Lahonton's New Voyages to North America. Lond. 1703.

1721. Trott. Ecclesiastical laws of the British Plantations in America. Lond. 1721. Fol.

[Without date. Broadside relating to the building of an inoculating hospital at Boston.]

Amongst the books which—on some ground or other—are more especially noticeable, I may also particularise these:—

Aldrovandus [Works. *Bologna edition*] 12 vols. Fol.

Ascham. The Scholemaster. Lond. *John Daye*. 1570. 4o.

Æschylus. Tragædia VI. 8o. Venet. *Aldus*. 1518.

Anacreon. 4o. Lut. *H. Steph.* 1554.

Aulus Gellius. Venet. *Jenson*. 1472. Fol.

Bacon. Myrrour of Alchimy, &c. Lond. *Creede*. 1597. 4o.

Borde. The first boke of the introduction of knowledge. Lond. *Wm. Copland*. 1543. 4o.

Churchyard. The Worthiness of Wales. Lond. 1587. 4o.

Cressy. Church History of Britain. 1668. Fol.

Gower. De Confessione Amantis. Lond. *T. Berthelette*. 1554. Fol.

Greene. The Royall Exchange. Lond. *J. Charlewood*. 1590. 4o.

Garibay. Compendio historial de las Cronicas. . . . de Espana. Antv. *C. Plant*. 1571. Fol. 4 vols.

Grafton. Chronicle, Lond. *Denham*. 1569. Fol.

Hearne. [A fine set of his works, extending to 59 vols.]

Hall. Union of the Houses of York and Lancaster. Lond. *Grafton*. 1550. Fol.

Heywoode. The iron age. Lond. *N. Okes*. 1634. 4o.

— A Mayden-head well lost. Lond. *N. Okes*. 1632. 4o.

[The volume which contains these plays of Thos. Heywood includes eight other rare plays, printed between 1610 and 1637.]

Hyll. A profitable instruction of the perfite ordering of bees. Lond. 1574. 4o.

Koller. Prophetiæ, &c., *Sine loco*. 4o.

Liturgy. (K. Edw. VI.) Lond. 1549. Fol.

Marmol Caravajal. Historia . . . de Granada. Malaga, 1600. Fol

Plutarch. Vitæ. Venet. *Jenson*. 1478. Fol.
 Primer. Lond. *Grafton*. 1546. Fol.
 Schedel. Liber Chronicorum, &c. Norimb. 1493. Fol.
 Scot. A perfite platforme of a hoppe-garden. 4o.
 Tyndall, Frith, and Barnes. Works. Lond. *J. Daye*. 1573. Fol.
 Theuerdank. Werke, &c. Norimb. 1517. Fol.
 Whytford. Martyrloge after Salysbury use. Lond. *Wynkyn de Worde*. 1526. 4o.

Of collections of TRACTS, the most remarkable is one on the Romanist Controversy of the time of James II., extending to 416 pieces, and containing a considerable number not included in Peck's well-known catalogue. Attached to the collection is a copy of this catalogue, with copious M.S. additions by Thyer (the editor of Butler's Remains), and by the present librarian.

There is also a small but excessively curious collection on the "Essentialist" Controversy of 1717-22—to the anonymous tracts in which Dr. Deacon (the non-juring "Bishop" of Manchester of that day, who gave them to the library) has attached the writers' names; and also a volume which contains some very rare tracts of Christopher Angell ("a Grecian, who tasted of many stripes and torments, inflicted by the Turks for the faith which he had in Christ Jesus"), W. Roe, A. Reuter, M.A. de Dominis (Abp. of Spalatro), and others, on an earlier phase of the Popish conflict than that just referred to.

THE COLLECTION OF MANUSCRIPTS.

THIS collection is a most valuable, though little known, portion of the Chetham Library. It comprises only 137 volumes, exclusive of the "Chetham Papers," (which are kept in the "Archives," and are yet unbound), but there is scarcely a volume that has not its intrinsic and distinctive worth. 31 of these MS. volumes are Oriental, and 106 European. The former are chiefly Arabic and Persian, and include a fine MS. of the famous heroic poem on the ancient History of Persia, called "Shâh Nâmeh," by the great Persian poet, Ferdausi; and an epitome (also in Persian) of the Hindu Epic entitled "Mahabharata." There is, too, a splendidly illuminated Persian MS., containing many portraits and many curious pictures illustrative of the poetry as well as of the manners and customs of Persia. But these Oriental MSS. I am incompetent to describe.

The European MSS. may be classed thus:—

I. LIBRARY COLLECTION:

	No. of Vols.
1. Historical MSS.,	35
2. Genealogical and Heraldic MSS.	12
3. MSS. relating to taxation in Lancashire and Cheshire	4
4. Theological and Ethical MSS.	24
5. Scientific MSS. (including several on medical subjects)	11
6. Common-Place Books, and other <i>Collections</i> on various subjects	9
7. Poetical MSS.	9
8. MSS. relating to the Library itself	2
Total	106

II. CHETHAM PAPERS:

No. of Documents.

1. Inventories of Chetham's personal estate; Schedules of Debts owing to him; accounts relating to trade, bonds, receipts, &c., from 1616 to 1650	56
2. Letters to Chetham, chiefly relating to Mortgages and matters of trade. 1629 to 1650	28
3. Letters of News, and copies of State Papers, &c., enclosed in them. 1628 to 1648	10
4. Original Writ for Ship Money; Correspondence and accounts relating to the collection of Ship Money and to the office of Sheriff, 1634 to 1639	45
5. Correspondence relative to the prosecution of Dr. R. Murray, Warden of Manchester, and to the new charter for the Collegiate Church; with copies of Charters, Petitions, &c. 1634 to 1635	7
6. Letters and Papers relative to the Collection of Money for the re-building of St. Paul's Cathedral, London. 1634 to 1635	10
7. Correspondence relative to Chetham's armorial bearings. 1635.	7
8. Letters and accounts relating to the collection of subsidies. 1641-1642.	32
9. Further letters and accounts relating to Chetham's appointment, in 1643, as Treasurer of Lancashire; Correspondence with Fairfax and other Parliamentary Commanders and Committees, on the support of the army, &c. 1643-1648	26
10. Accounts for "Charges laid out for the Wars." 1642-1646.	24
11. Letters in relation to the purchase of "The College." 1649-1660	2
Total	260

The Historical Manuscripts in the library include a valuable fourteenth century copy (No. 6,712) of the "Flores Historiarum," compiled by Matthew of Westminster, with a continuation to the year 1326. This manuscript was formerly the property of the monks of Westminster Abbey, as appears by its inscription, "Liber Ecclesie S. Petri Westmonasterii," and was presented by Nicholas Higginbotham, of Stockport, as early as 1657.* There are also manuscripts of Higden's "Poliericon," in English (8,037)—apparently of the fifteenth century; of the "Chronycle of Scotland" (6,708), by Robert Lindsay; (Sir Walter Scott's "Honest Pitscottie");* of the "Records of

* This MS. is much injured, apparently by damp. But, besides its beautiful illuminations, it has historical worth for additions to the text and various readings. It does not appear, however, that it has yet been collated. The late Mr. Rodd once said, that if it were in the market he would gladly give £100 for it.

* This Lindsay MS. (which was presented to the Library by Mr. Wm. Stirling, of Glasgow) is stated, in the "Bibliotheca Chethamensis," to be the *original*. Lord Lindsay, however (who once purposed to re-edit the Chronicle for the Bannatyne Club), assured the present Librarian that this assertion is erroneous. The original he believes to be lost, and the *best* MS. he states to be that belonging to Cap. Wemyss, of Wemyss Castle.

Dunkeld," 1560-1649 (better known by the title of "Bishop Guthry's Memoirs");—a copy (No. 6,693), stated to differ from the printed one, of "A view of the state and condition of Ireland," from 1640 to 1652 (No. 6,709), which appears to have been used (without acknowledgment) by Borlase in the compilation of his "History of the Irish Rebellion;" and an unpublished continuation (6,692), by Digby Cotes, of his translation of the "Bibliothèque des auteurs ecclésiastiques" of Ellies Dupin, to which the translator has prefixed a very elaborate account (also unpublished) of Dupin's life and works; a "Relazione del viaggio fatto dal Signor Girolamo Lando, Ambasciatore della Ser'ma Republica di Venetia in Inghilterra" (6,706); and an original MS., by Henry Knyvett (6,703), entitled "Project for the defence of England against foreign invasions," addressed to Queen Elizabeth in 1596.

The two last-named MSS. are especially curious and valuable. The narrative of Lando enables us to fill up a gap in those "Relations" of Venetian ambassadors to England, which were drawn up by way of report to the Venetian Government, in accordance with the usual and politic practice of that State. This relation is brief, and begins with the date of Oct., 1619. In the best account of the Venetian embassies to England—that prefixed to Mrs. Sneyd's translation of the earliest narrative of this kind known to exist (printed for the Camden Society)—Lando is entered as ambassador from 1620 to 1622, with the remark, "No relation known."* Of Henry Knyvett, the writer of the "Project for the defence of England," very little is recorded. Queen Elizabeth, however, mentions him with commendation in her letter to Lord Grey, of Wilton, of the 14th April, 1560* as one of those "trusty and faithful servants," who had earned her "comfortable thanks for their service" at the siege of Leith, calling him "Knevet, of whose hurt we be very sorry." The special interest of this MS. lies in the writer's clear and vigorous appreciation of the advantages which would result from a complete and accurate Census of the population advantages which some of the North American States, by the wisdom of their rulers, enjoyed early in the eighteenth, but which England had to wait for until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Knyvett's chief object was (of course) a military one, but he seems to have been by no means insensible to some of the other uses to which a "general muster," as he calls it, might be turned. He thus describes the experiment he had tried in his own locality—Charlton, in Wiltshire:—

"By virtue of my precepts to the Constable of the Hundreds of the Division where I dwell, in Wiltshire (the least of six), containing four little Hundreds, the names of all the people, both young and old, together with the number of houses . . . within the circuit thereof inhabiting and being, were within three or four days, without any other muster or trouble to the people, brought unto me, whereof I have made a book herewith to be showed unto your Majesty, if it please you to behold it; containing 3,698 young striplings, under the age of 18 years, 3,676 able men for service from 18 to 50, and 1,316

* Anonymous "Relation of the island of England," p. 20.

* Hayne's "State Papers," p. 289.

old men above 50. . . . Notwithstanding," he adds, "such former musters as to good purpose have already been taken (which out of good experience I know are weakly performed and imperfectly left), I hold it very necessary that yet once again, a general muster be more exactly made throughout your Majestie's dominions . . . of which musters and inrollments I would have perfect books made for every the said several divisions, according to the form and manner of one which I have made for the division wherein I dwell, and serve your Majesty."

This MS. appears to be the copy actually presented to the Queen. It is bound in red velvet, the capital letters are illuminated, and the penmanship is of singular beauty.

The oldest of the "Miscellanies", or, as they would now be called, "Common Place Books" (No. 8,009), supposed to be of the fifteenth century, and chiefly devoted to early English poetry, contains also a curious historical MS. in English (but perhaps a translation), minutely relating that famous interview between Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, and the Emperor Frederick III., which took place at Treves, in October, 1473, and the abrupt breaking up of which, whilst it precipitated the measures which brought the rash duke to his fall, did not prevent the aggrandisement of the house of Hapsburgh, by the rich inheritance of Mary of Burgundy. The narrator of the interview was evidently an ecclesiastic, and an eye-witness, and addresses his chronicle, "To my lady of Comynes, the best and dearest of my spiritual daughters," &c.*

The Historical and Genealogical MSS. which relate to Lancashire and Cheshire, are both choice and numerous. They include Hollingworth's "Mancuniensis; or, an History of the towne of Manchester," written in the beginning of the Civil Wars (6,700); Kuerden's Collections for an intended "History of Lancashire" (2 vols., 6,702),—full of information, but entirely undigested, and written in an execrable hand,—but for which they would probably have been still more extensively used than they were by Mr. Baines, in his "History of Lancashire. 3. The "Antiquities of Cheshire" (8,043), better known as the "Adlington MS." and believed to have been compiled by Thomas Leyghe, of Adlington Hall, in the time of James I. 4. A very full and curious "Minute Book of the meetings of the Manchester Presbytery (8,044), from the year 1646 to 1660. 5. A "Visitation of Lancashire," made in the year 1567 (6,719). 6. A collection of "Lancashire Pedigrees (8,017), made by that accomplished and indefatigable antiquary and draughtsman, the late Thomas Barritt, of Manchester, and enriched with copious additions and notes by the late Earl of Derby (to whom the volume had been lent by Barritt), as well as with numerous portraits, emblazonments, and "tricks" of arms, rubbings from monumental brasses, impressions of ancient seals, drawings and

* I have a vague recollection that there is a citation in the excellent work of De Barante, *Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne*, which might clear up this point, as to the authorship. But it is many years since I read that book, and I have just now no means of referring to it.

prints of old buildings, and many historical and biographical memoranda. 7. Six volumes, chiefly containing the armorial bearings of Lancashire and Cheshire families, and drawings of ancient castles, halls, and other buildings, and remains of antiquity, also by Barritt, and copiously illustrated by his notes and extracts. 8. A transcript of a very ancient "Customary and Rental of the Manor of Ashton-under-Lyne" (8,027), formerly belonging to Sir Ralph Ashton, of Middleton, with notes by Barritt; and three volumes (8,030, 8,033, 8,036) of transcripts from Lancashire documents, partly MS. and partly printed in rare books—preserved in the Record Office in London, and in the British Museum. 9. A transcript of the "Life of Adam Martindale" (8,044), the original of which is amongst the Birch MSS. in the British Museum. 10. Three "Taxation Rolls," and two "Books of Rates" for Lancashire, all of the seventeenth century; and, 11, the original "Minute Books of Manchester Sunday Schools" 1784 to 1839.

Amongst the Theological MSS. the following appear to merit special mention:—

1. A New Testament (6,723) of the later Wycliffe version, with the usual prologues; written about 1430, and presented to the library by the Rev. John Clayton, M.A., in 1732; 2. A Bible, of the Latin Vulgate, most beautifully written, and illuminated, early in the fifteenth century (2 vols. 6,689); 3. A Hebrew Pentateuch, of good penmanship, but of recent date, on three rolls; 4. A Roman Missal (8,067) with an almanack, containing four large, and sixteen small paintings of exceeding beauty; 5. A Roman Psalter with the Gregorian chants,—an ancient illuminated MS. from the Monastery at Godstow; 6. *S. Augustini Opera quædam* (6,682), a fine but imperfect MS. of the fourteenth century;—and, 7, an extensive series of theological common-place books, and of controversial treatises—partly original—by two former librarians—the Rev. Nath. Banne, M.A., and Robert Thyer, the well-known editor of Butler and of Milton.

To this class, by subject, but to that of Poetical MSS. by form, belongs a fourteenth century copy of that curious specimen of early English rhyme, "The Prick of Conscience," by Richard Rolle, better known as the Hermit of Hampole—a precursor of Wycliffe both as a Church reformer, and as a translator of the Scriptures. Whether Warton be right or wrong in his depreciation of Hampole as a poet, it is certain that this book (like his other treatises in English) has great value for the philologist. Should the poem, on this account, ever be printed, the Chetham MSS., although imperfect, will deserve collation.

The MS. Miscellany, also written in the fourteenth century (numbered 8,009)—already mentioned for an historical tract which it contains—comprises several early English poems and romances of excessive rarity. Amongst these are an unique MS. of "Torrente of Portyngale" (printed a few years ago by Mr. Halliwell); "Lives of St. Anne, St. Catharine, and St. Dorothea;" an English version of the "Distiches of Cato;" several poems relating to the Blessed Virgin; and an early copy of that most curious tract entitled:—

"A Boke of Kervyng [carving], and Nortur [nurture]," which begins thus:—

"*In nom. patris*, God kep me *t. filii* for cherite,
Et spiriti sà where I be both by land and be see,
 An owsser [usher] I am as ye may se,
 To a prynce ryall of hi degree."

This "usher to a royal prince" dilates, at great length, on all the arrangements for the service of the table, and on the respective merits of all kinds of food. The following stanza may serve as a specimen:—

"Butter is an holsom mete firste and laste,
 Ffor he wyl helpe poyson away to caste.
 Also he norisheth a man to his taste [?]
 And with bred he will kepe his mowith fast."

The volume also contains copies of the metrical romances, "Bevis of Hampton" (142 pages), and "Ipomadon" (288 pages), and one or two minor pieces.*

Passing over many Poetical MSS.—by no means unworthy of notice, but the description of which would occupy too much space—I come to one (8,012) of the time of James I., of high interest to the lovers of our noble and heart-stirring Elizabethan poetry. This also belonged to Dr. Farmer, and, like the former, contains several historical tracts as well as poems. The bulk of the poetical portion of the volume consists of songs, sonnets, epitaphs, and epigrams; and also of an extensive collection of rhymed psalms. The hand writings are various, and apparently of very different dates. One of the pieces is a caustic answer, evidently in a hand of the time, to the celebrated poem, called "The Lie," and has gone far to fix its authorship on Raleigh, by showing that it was assigned to him in his life-time; another is entitled, "Sir Philip Sydney lying on his Death-bed," and appears never to have been published entire. As it may possibly throw some light on a point connected with that famous death-bed, which has often excited curiosity and speculation, I quote it, at length—first prefixing a few sentences, from the successive biographers of Sydney, which bear on the subject:—

1. FULKE GREVILLE (the "Servant of Queen Elizabeth, Counsellor of King James, and friend of Sir Philip Sydney"), [about 1600]:—
 . . . "Afterwards he called for musick, especially that song which himself had intitled (*La cuisse rompuë*), partly (as I conceive by the name) to shew that the glory of mortal flesh was shaken in him, and by that *music* itself to fashion, and enfranchise his heavenly soul into that everlasting harmony of angels whereof these concords were a kind of terrestrial echo." ("Life of Sydney," as quoted by Collins, "Sydney Papers," i., 107).

* This volume was purchased for 14 guineas, at the sale of the celebrated library of Dr. Richard Farmer, who had recorded upon the fly-leaf his purchase of it at Dr. Monro's sale, for £29, "before the present binding." The loss of the worthy Doctor's executors, on this item, was amply compensated on most of the others. The whole library, it was believed, did not cost Dr. Farmer more than £500, but it produced £2,210 at his sale.

2. ZOUCH [1808]. "'An ode,' which was composed by Sir Philip Sydney, 'on the nature of his wound,' discovered a mind perfectly serene and calm . . . it is deeply to be regretted that this ode is not now extant." ("Memoirs of Sydney." 2d edition, 158)

3. GRAY [1829]. "Sir Philip Sydney . . . was able to amuse his sick bed by composing 'An ode,' unfortunately now lost, 'on the nature of his wound,' which he caused to be sung to solemn music, as an entertainment that might soothe and divert his mind from his torments.'" ('Life of Sydney' [Miscellaneous Writings], 56.)

4. BELTZ [1840]. "Dr. Zouch has alluded to *three* compositions by the accomplished sufferer during his confinement at Arnheim. Of these 'An ode on the nature of his wound' and a long 'Epistle to Belerius,' a Latin divine, both said to have been of *the purest* *Latinity*, are yet undiscovered. For the existence of the former, I am not aware of any original authority." ("Last achievements, illness, and death, of Sir Philip Sydney," in the "Archæologia," vol. xxvii., pp. 27—37.)

5. PEARS [1845]. "The ode which he composed on (*La cuisine rompue*), and the music to which it was sung at his bedside, are things entirely at variance with modern notions of decency and seriousness, and yet they were quite in harmony with Sir Philip's character, and the age in which he lived." ("Life of Sidney," prefixed to his Correspondence with H. Languet, lxxvi.)

THE ODE.

"It is not I that dye: I do but leave an inne,
Where harboured was with me, all filthy kind of sinne.
It is not I that dye: I do but now begin,
Into eternal joys, by faith to enter in.
Why mourne ye then, my [servants,]* friends, and kin?
Lament ye when I lose;—Why weepe ye when I win?
Weary of sinne, but not of sinninge,
Striving to gaine, but never winninge,
Seeking an end without beginninge,
Thus doe I lead my life.
My wayes are pitfalls, smoothly hidden,
My passions resty coultis unriden,
My pastimes pleasures still forbidden,
My peace is inward strife.
My meditation, thoughts unholly,
My resolution yielding folly,
My conscience Sathan's monopolly,
Sinne doth my soule inherit.
My penitence doth ill persever,
My faith is fraile, hope constant never,
Yet this my comfort is for ever,
God saves not man for merit."

* "*Parents*" in the MS. but obviously a mistake of the transcriber. This blunder Mr. Hannah (the only writer, so far as I am aware, who has ever referred to this MS.), has declared to be "a plain proof of forgery." He adds "that an imperfect copy is found in Winstanley's *Poets*, 1684, p. 86," and that he therefore subjoins "a better version of them," but prints only the first six lines, supposing, I infer, that what follows (on the verso of the

Whether these verses be genuine or spurious; whether they be or be not the "Song" sung at Sidney's bedside at Arnheim; whether or not Lord Brooke's *meaning* has even been rightly understood by the subsequent biographers; there can, I think, be no sort of doubt that they are worthy of preservation, were it only for the circumstance that they were attributed to Sidney by a contemporary, and that their tone and sentiment are entirely in harmony with what we know of the solemn scene with which they claim to be connected?†

THE HALLIWELL COLLECTION OF BROADSIDES.

I have yet to mention the extensive collection of Ballads, Proclamations, and other "broadsides," which was presented to the Chetham Library, by Mr. Halliwell, in 1851. If there be truth in Selden's opinion that "*more solid things do not show the complexion of the times so well as ballads,*" and the like ephemeral productions of the passing day, this collection must be deemed a most valuable acquisition to the library. It consists of 1,309 poetical broadsides, and other fugitive pieces, including a few in MS.; and 1,791 broadsides in prose, many of which are of great curiosity. There is a printed catalogue of the whole, forming a goodly quarto.‡

But the worth, both of the collection and the catalogue, is materially diminished by the utter absence in either of classification, chronological arrangement, or method of any kind whatever. Verse and Prose, Theology and Gallantry, Messages to Parliament and Epilogues to the last new Play. Elegies on deceased Patriots, and "Lines on a Chimney-sweep," are intermingled pell-mell, and the despairing student is courteously informed in the preface, that "the Catalogue having been gradually compiled, and a classification found to be almost impracticable, it was *finally arranged* to print it without any regard either to arrangement of subject or chronological order." And it should be added, "the arrangement" of the pieces and volumes themselves is precisely similar to that of the catalogue.

Attempting to reduce this chaos into some kind of order, I find that the collection may be roughly classified thus:

I. POETRY.

Ballads (including 124 on political subjects) and miscellaneous verses	1,262
Complimentary Verses	33
Prologues and Epilogues	14
<hr/>	
Total.	1,309

page) had no connexion with it. *Poems by Sir Henry Wotton . . . and others* (1846), p. 69. His conjecture, however, may be right, although his reason for it seems insufficient. A man's acquaintance with English poetry should be wide indeed to warrant him in speaking very confidently as to the authorship of such verses as these, found in one of the innumerable MS. miscellanies of the sixteenth century.

† Compare, for example, the passage in Giffard's narrative (which Dr. Zouch has printed from *Cottonian MS. Vitellius*, c. 17, 382):—Among other things, he uttered this,—that 'godly men, in time of extreme afflictions, did comfort themselves with the remembrance of their former life, in which they had glorified God. It is not so in me. I have no comfort that way. All things in my former life have been vain, vain, vain.' (Zouch, *ubi supra* 276).

‡ 'Catalogue of Proclamations, Broad-sides, Ballads, and Poems,' presented to the Chetham Library, Manchester, by J. O. Halliwell, Esq. London, 1851. Printed for private circulation only.

II. PROSE.

Political broadsides	653
Pieces relating to Trade and Commerce	420
Proclamations	192
Speeches and Messages to Parliament	55
Pieces relating to the Jacobite war in Ireland	72
Biographical broadsides	57
Theological broadsides	24
Scientific broadsides	12
Law Cases, Trials, &c.	148
Broadsides relating to Charities	27
Prospectuses of Books	62
Speeches, "Characters," and other pieces not relating to Politics	69
Total	1,791

Unlike the celebrated Pepysian Collection at Cambridge, or the Roxburgh Collection, now in the British Museum, this series contains but few ballads, or other broadsides in "black letter." Its greatest curiosities are to be found amongst the pieces which relate to Politics and to Trade, and these would be trebled in value were they more accurately described in the catalogue. Such an entry, for example, as "336, The Church Scuffle," without the addition even of place or date, gives none of the information for which a reader may reasonably look; but if the four words [*"between Sacheverell and Whiston"*] were supplied, the title would become intelligible at a glance. Of what possible utility, again, is such an entry as "Ordo Curixæ," without a word to show to what court it relates, or a figure to indicate its date? On such points as these, no sort of rule appears to be followed—not even that of supplying no information at all. In one place the writer of the catalogue is at the pains to point out that the words "The King" mean "K. Charles II.;" but in many others he leaves such titles as "Mr. S. O., his speech," or, "A letter in vindication of L. N." without any attempt to supply that [*"Speaker Onslow"*] or [*"Lord Nottingham,"*] which would render such good service to the reader, who may be laboriously wading through a chaotic mass of matter with which he has no concern, in hope to light on some of those useful biographic materials, which collections of this kind are sure to contain. Thus, too, whilst the great majority of the pieces are without any date at all, the reader is now and then misled by such a note as that of "Time of Charles II.," which is appended to a broadside relating to Sacheverell's famous trial, in 1710. These imperfections, however,—much as students must regret them,—in no wise impeach the gratitude which is Mr. Halliwell's unquestionable due for so valuable a gift.

There are also in this library other collections worthy of some mention. But this chapter has already far exceeded the limits I proposed to myself in commencing it. I therefore pass these over without further notice. Enough has been said abundantly to justify

the assertion that the Chetham Library is a noble monument of its founder's munificence and public spirit, notwithstanding the hindrances to its proper development, which have arisen from its pinched means, and its unfortunate position as an appendage to the Hospital.

That the separation of the two institutions would conduce to the prosperity of *both*, I am deeply convinced. There is conclusive evidence that Chetham intended his library to be for the benefit of the whole "town of Manchester." In his day, that object was best attained by providing a learned library "for scholars," and an English library for "the edification of the common people." In our day, such a divarication, in a provincial city, has ceased to be either useful or practicable.

If further illustration be needed of the advantages which would result from that incorporation of the two libraries which I advocate, it will be afforded by the statement, that of works in those classes which have been particularised as indicating the *wealth* of the Chetham Library—invaluable as they are—and of Manuscripts, the Free Library is, as yet, very deficient; whilst, with modern collections, and more recent authors, the Chetham Library is almost equally unprovided.

The former (as respects its Reference Department), with every passing year, is becoming more and more a library for ALL CLASSES, both of readers and students; because, great as are its deficiencies in such books as have been mentioned, as well as in books of many other classes, it possesses the foundation of a noble collection, as well of British History,* as of the literature of Commerce. The latter is becoming less and less useful, with every passing year, to *any* class, either of readers or of students; because, rich as are its stores, every month sees it falling more and more into the rear of the science and the literature of our own age.

The Free Library is yet in its cradle; but some, at all events, of its limbs are acquiring consistency and vigour. The Chetham Library can look back upon a long career† of usefulness, to which many

* In the formation of the Manchester Free Library, special attention has been paid to the general history of the British Empire; but its *topography* is very meagrely supplied. Books in this class are, as is well known, of a most costly kind. Yet our Free Libraries ought eminently to aim at becoming *local storehouses*, in which every sort of information respecting at least the county to which they belong—whether historical, statistical, or merely descriptive—should become accessible to all inquirers. In this way that desire of our old antiquary, Leland, that every county should have its special library, might be nobly realised. The Chetham Library has some fine collections of this kind, both printed and manuscript; but these are falling into just the same sort of *arrear* that I have noticed in other departments. In not a few cases, the books that would best elucidate the MSS., and *vice versa*, must be sought elsewhere.

† THE FOLLOWING IS A LIST OF THE SUCCESSIVE LIBRARIANS:—

- 1653. Rev. Richard Johnson, M.A., Fellow of Christ's College, Manchester. Mr. Johnson was appointed the first librarian, with power to nominate a deputy during his life, but not to be drawn into an example for future elections.
- 1656. Mr. Brown appointed deputy.
- 1658. Mr. Lees deputy to Mr. Johnson on the discharge of Mr. Brown.
- 1666. William Harrison deputy on the resignation of Edmund Lees.
- 1675. William Harrison, B.A., on death of Rev. Richard Johnson.
- 1680. Humphrey Livesay, on removal of William Harrison, B.A.

have borne grateful testimony; but this usefulness is sinking into decrepitude and decay year by year. Combine them, and assuredly the energetic vitality of the one will be found to invigorate and fructify the accumulated stores of the other.

Nearly two centuries were permitted to elapse before any monument was raised to the memory of Humphrey Chetham, other than that which he had provided for himself. But, during last year, the pious gratitude of a worthy citizen who had been educated by his bounty, found appropriate expression in a statue which now adorns the "Old Church." Is it too much to hope that to this memorial of the thankfulness of an individual may soon be added that still better memorial of the gratitude of the community, which would consist in giving yet greater efficiency to his thriving school, by the same step which would free his starving library from the obstructions which have impeded its growth and diminished its usefulness? United, the vigour of the one has been supported by the exhaustion of the other. Separate, both would thrive, and become the channels of an amount of educational and intellectual advantage to Manchester, which, otherwise, we shall have long to wait for.

- 1684. Thomas Pendleton, on death of Humphrey Livesay.
- 1693. Rev. N. Banne, M.A., [Afterwards Rector of St. Ann's, Manchester] on death of Thomas Pendleton.
- 1712. Rev. James Leicester on resignation of N. Banne.
- 1719. Rev. Francis Hooper, B.A., on death of Rev. James Leicester.
- 1726. Rev. Robert Oldfield on resignation of Rev. Francis Hooper.
- 1732. Robert Thyer, B.A. [Editor of "Butler's Remains," and of other works], on resignation of Rev. Robert Oldfield.
- 1763. Rev. Robert Kenyon on the resignation of Rev. Robert Thyer.
- 1787. Rev. John Radcliffe, B.A., on death of Rev. Robert Kenyon.
- 1792. Rev. John Haddon Hindley, on resignation of Rev. John Radcliffe.
- 1804. Rev. Thomas Stone, by infirmity of Rev. John Haddon Hindley.
- 1812. Rev. John Taylor Allen, on resignation of Rev. Thomas Stone.
- 1821. Rev. Peter Horderne, on resignation of Rev. John Taylor Allen.
- 1834. Rev. George Dugard, M.A., on resignation of Rev. Peter Horderne.
- 1837. Rev. Campbell Grey Hulton, M.A., on resignation of Rev. George Dugard.
- 1845. Thomas Jones, B.A., on resignation of Rev. Campbell Grey Hulton.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV.

ON THE OPERATION OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARIES ACT, OF 1850, AND
ON THE MODE OF WORKING THE AMENDED ACT OF 1855.

This Act is now in force in the following cities and towns:—

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| 1. BOLTON. | (Votes:—662 for ; 55 agst.) |
| 2. CAMBRIDGE | |
| 3. KIDDERMINSTER | |
| 4. [LIVERPOOL] | (Under Special Act, not requiring a poll). |
| 5. MANCHESTER. | (Votes:—3,962 for ; 40 agst.) |
| 6. NORWICH | (" 153 " 7 ") |
| 7. OXFORD. | (" 596 " 72 ") |
| 8. *SALFORD | (Under "Museums' Act," not requiring a poll). |
| 9. SHEFFIELD | (Votes:—838 for ; 232 agst. Second poll). |
| 10. *WARRINGTON | (Under "Museums' Act"). |
| 11. WINCHESTER. | (Votes:—361 for ; 13 agst.) |

The polls by which the Act was adopted in each town respectively (as far as I have been able to ascertain them) are shewn by the figures appended. *Liverpool* has its special "Library and Museum Act," passed in 1852. The Libraries of *Salford and *Warrington are attached to *Museums* established under the "Museums' Act" of 1845, which Act was repealed by the Act of 1853, and those institutions are now maintained under the powers and provisions of the Act last named.

At Birmingham and at Exeter, polls have been taken under the Act, and its adoption negatived. In the former case by 534 votes against 363, in the latter by 853 votes against 118.

By the Town Councils of Aberdeen, Bristol, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Preston, as well as by the Common Council of London, resolutions approving of the principle of the Act have been adopted, and committees appointed to report as to the steps to be taken to bring it into operation. In several other towns similar steps are said to be in contemplation.

[At King's Lynn (Norfolk), and St. Helens (Lancashire), Free Libraries have also been established, which are *partially* supported out of rates, under local powers].

The Free Libraries at Bolton, Liverpool, Manchester, Oxford, Salford, Warrington, and Winchester, are in active operation, and contain, in the aggregate, nearly 90,000 volumes. Those of Cambridge and Sheffield are on the eve of opening,—the former with 2,000 volumes, to start with; the latter with 3,100. At Norwich a new building is now in course of erection, which is to receive its Free Library. Here, as at Bristol, there is an ancient Town Library (of the seventeenth century) which ought to be,—and I trust will be,—made the foundation of the new one.

The produce of the Rate by which these various institutions are supported is at present (under the altered limit of one penny in the pound) as follows:—

	£
1. Bolton	570
2. Cambridge	400
3. Kidderminster	
4. Liverpool	4,600
5. Manchester	4,000
6. Norwich	
7. Oxford	300
8. Salford	1,300
9. Sheffield	1,300
10. Warrington	180
11. Winchester	364

The practical working of the libraries thus established, and the degree of success with which their object has been thus far attained, will, perhaps, be sufficiently illustrated by the subjoined tabular view of the operations of the four libraries of Liverpool, Manchester, Salford, and Bolton;—all of them now embracing distinct departments for Reference and for Circulation:—

FREE PUBLIC LIBRARIES OF FOUR LANCASHIRE TOWNS.

	Amount of money raised by Subscriptions.			Amount of money raised by Rate, or granted by Town Council.			Total amount of money raised.		No. of Vols. of Books in Library.		Total No. of Vols. in Library	No. of Volumes issued.			Total No. of Vols. issued up to date of latest report.
									By Gift.	By Purchs.		To readers in the Library.	To borrowers from Lending Collections		
1850. 1. Salford	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.						
	6470	10	0	5090	2	5	11560	12	5	5459	7121	12530	160218 during five years.	13815 open during a portion of last year only.	174033 during five years.
1852. 2. Manchester ..	12823	10	0	3852	11	2	16676	1	2	8155	19789	27944	168887 during two years and a half.	204661 during two years and a half.	373548 during two years and a half.
1852. 3. Liverpool	7389	2	10	17030	13	11	24419	16	9	* about 5000 vols.	* about 20195 vols.	25195	.....	.....	246461 during two years.
1853. 4. Bolton	3195	4	2	855	0	0	4050	0	2	1651	11541	13192	27288 during one year.	61184 during one year.	88472 during one year.
Total in the four towns of Lancashire since 1850 }	29878	7	0	26823	7	6	56705	14	6	20265	58646	78911	.....	.....	882514

* The statements in the Liverpool reports and in the MS. documents I have received, are not quite precise on this point, but these approximate numbers are nearly correct.

Thus, in these four towns (and within an average period of three years), a sum of £26,828 has been levied by rate, or granted by Town Councils, under the Act; and a further sum of £29,878 raised by voluntary subscription; nearly 80,000 volumes of good books have been inalienably devoted to public use; every such volume has, on the average, been actually used 11 times; and provision—both certain and permanent—has been made for the replacement, from time to time, of all books that may be worn out in the public service.

One of the best results which has attended the establishment in Lancashire of these Town Libraries, supported by rate, is the union of ALL CLASSES, not only in the efforts which have been necessary to their foundation, but by subsequent participation in their advantages. They are, emphatically, libraries for the City or Town which supports them, and not for any one section of its population. Under the amended Act this will become increasingly apparent, by the enlarged means which are afforded for the acquisition of books, adapted for the requirements of all classes, and such as, in most towns, have been hitherto within the reach of readers of *any* class only by private purchase.

The amended Act, which received the Royal assent on the 30th of July, is entitled "*An Act for further promoting the establishment of Free Public Libraries and Museums in Municipal Towns, and for extending it to Towns governed under Local Improvement Acts, and to Parishes.*"

Its applicability extends, first, to all Municipal Boroughs, the population of which at the last census which shall have been taken (*i.e.* the last census which may have preceded any proposition for its adoption in any such borough), shall exceed five thousand persons; secondly, to all Districts possessing any Board of Improvement Commissioners, or other body of Trustees, by whatever name distinguished, acting in the execution of any Act for cleansing, paving, lighting, or other like purposes, and having a similar population: thirdly, to any Parish, having such a population; and fourthly, to any two or more neighbouring parishes having an aggregate population exceeding five thousand persons, the vestries of which may choose to unite for the purpose of establishing a Public Library.

In order to the adoption of the Act in any such Borough, District, Parish, or union of parishes, a public meeting,—in Boroughs of the Burgesses, in Districts of the persons assessed to the Improvement rate, in Parishes of the persons assessed to the Poor rate,—after, at the least, ten days' public notice, must have been duly convened (by the Mayor, Commissioners, or Overseers of the poor, as the case may be),* and the proposition for its adoption must have been voted for by, at least, *two-thirds* of the persons then present. Immediately after such vote, duly recorded, the Act comes into operation. If the decision of the meeting be adverse, one year must elapse before the

* In Boroughs, the meeting is to be convened at the request of the Town Council; in Districts and parishes, on the requisition of ten ratepayers.—18 & 19 Vic. c. (clause 4.)

re-mooting of the question ; but the expenses of such meeting are, in any case, to be paid out of the Borough fund, Improvement fund, or Poor rates, respectively.

The Act having been adopted in a *Borough* or *Improvement district*, the Town Council or Improvement Board may defray the expenses of carrying it into execution out of the Borough rate or Improvement rate, or they may levy a separate rate, to be called "Library rate," provided that, in either case, such expenses or such separate rate shall not exceed *one penny in the pound* on the rateable value of the property assessed. (If the rate be a separate one, the modes of levy, appeal, and recovery, are to be subject to the clauses of the "Towns Improvement Clauses Act" of 1847.) Accounts must be separate and public.

The Act having been adopted in a *Parish*, the Vestry must appoint not less than three, nor more than nine ratepayers, to be Commissioners for carrying the Act into execution, and such Commissioners become a body corporate as "*The Commissioners for Public Libraries and Museums for the Parish of ———.*" One-third of such Commissioners must go out of office yearly by ballot, but are re-eligible. They must meet monthly, must keep minutes and accounts, which latter must be duly audited and reported to the Vestry. For defrayment of the expenses, the Vestry must levy a rate (not exceeding one penny in the pound), in like manner as a Poor rate, but with proviso that occupiers of lands used solely for agriculture shall be rated only for one-third part of the net annual value. If adopted by the Vestries of two or more contiguous parishes, no more than three Commissioners shall be appointed for each parish.

The general management and control of Libraries and Museums thus established, and all real and personal property therein, are, in a Borough, vested in the Council ; in a District, in the Board ; in a Parish, in the Commissioners. The Council, Board, or Commissioners, may delegate their powers to a Committee (the members whereof may or may not be members of such Council, &c.), "who may from time to time purchase and provide the necessary fuel, lighting, and other similar matters, Books, Newspapers, Maps, and specimens of Art and Science." Powers are also given to rent or purchase lands (subject to the approval of her Majesty's Treasury), to erect new buildings, or to purchase, alter, and fit up old buildings for the reception of such libraries or other collections ; and to borrow money on mortgage in order thereto, subject to the provisions of the "Companies Clauses Consolidation Act" of 1845. It is further enacted, that admission to all libraries and museums established under the Act, shall be free of all charge ; and there is a special clause providing for the adoption of the Act in the City of London, with the sanction of a meeting duly convened, of all persons rated to the "Consolidated Rate," out of which rate the expenses of carrying it into execution are to be defrayed.

Finally, it may be observed, that if there were now any doubt remaining as to the vital importance of that clause in the new Act by which Town Councils, &c., are enabled to appropriate part of the rate money to the purchase of books, any such doubt would certainly

be removed by the experience on that head of those Lancashire towns in which the former Act has been long in operation. Under circumstances which, in some respects, were very favourable, only about 20,000 volumes, out of nearly 80,000 have been obtained by gift; and in each case the volumes presented (taking them on the whole) form by far the least valuable part of the entire collection. In Manchester, indeed, there have been two very special exceptions to this general experience, but both of them have consisted in the liberal *purchase* of books of great value (in one instance by Sir John Potter; in the other by Robert Barnes, Esq., his distinguished successor in the Mayoralty,) expressly for their presentation to the Library. As a *rule*, it seems certain that dependence on the acquisition of books by donation will be entirely unsafe.

It may be highly probable that in course of time the good working of the Libraries' Act will become an additional inducement to liberal-minded collectors to *bequeath* their libraries to communities in whose welfare they are interested, but true lovers of books will rarely, in their life-time, part with those that are worth keeping.

CHAPTER V.

WILLIAM HULME AND HIS EXHIBITIONS AT BRASENOSE.—JOHN OWENS AND HIS COLLEGE IN MANCHESTER.—THE FUTURE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

WE have now to consider whether the time has not arrived when determined steps should be taken to realize for Lancashire some adequate amount of educational benefit from that bequest of WILLIAM HULME which, *by the inventive skill and the enterprising industry of Lancashire men*, has grown from thirty pounds a-year, into nearly five thousand pounds a-year, and is (in the opinion of a most competent judge of such questions, Mr. Alexander Kay,) in a fair way to become, within half a century, at least ten thousand pounds a-year of net income.*

In 1691, Mr. Hulme bequeathed the property which commercial enterprise has thus raised an hundredfold in value, for the support at Brasenose College, in the University of Oxford, of "*four of the poor sort of batchellors of arts*," to be nominated and approved of by the warden of the Collegiate Church of Manchester and the Rectors of the Parish Churches of Prestwich and of Bury, in the said county of Lancaster, for the time being, and their successors for ever; "*my mind and will being that noe such batchellors shall continue to have anything of this my exhibition but only for the space of four years, to be accepted from the time of such degree taken*." His trustees have prevailed upon Parliament to divert a large portion of it from a purpose essentially educational, to the very different purpose of *the purchase of advowsons, the building of churches, and the erection of parsonage houses*.

The successive steps by which this misappropriation has been brought about are worthy of notice. Up to 1770, the exhibitions continued to be four in number, but were gradually raised in amount from £10 to £60. In that year the Trustees obtained power to increase the number to ten and the annual allowance from £60 to £80. They were also enabled to grant building leases of the land in Manchester for terms not exceeding ninety-nine years. In 1795, these powers were extended, and it was enacted that the number of exhibitions might be raised to fifteen, and their amount to £110 a-year. Yet within twenty years of this extension of the charity,

* See Mr. Kay's valuable evidence before the Manchester Educational Committee, 28th June, 1852, Q. 2,412, pp. 396, 509; and the twenty-first report of the Charity Commissioners (1829), pp. 623—637. At the date of this report, the trustees had a rental of £3,331, in addition to the proceeds of £4,911, lent on mortgage, and of £10,875, money in the funds. Since this chapter was first in type, Mr. Kay has published a pamphlet (which will well repay perusal) entitled: 'Hulme's Charity. A letter to B. Nicholls, Esq., Mayor of Manchester, on the past management of this Charity; with suggestions for the future application of its large surplus income.'

the accumulation of its surplus income amounted to the sum of £23,700.*

Again the trustees applied to Parliament, and this time they sought and obtained (in 1814) power to make a *small* departure (which, however, has proved to have been but "the thin end of the wedge,") from the testator's directions, by nominating *under-graduates* as exhibitors *a year before taking the degree of B.A.*; and by paying to a lecturer in divinity a sum not exceeding £150 a-year. They were also empowered to allow to each exhibitor an annual sum not exceeding £220 a-year; to dispense with residence in college during certain terms, to purchase land and to build rooms for the exhibitors at a cost not exceeding £5,000. But no land has been purchased and no buildings have been erected.

In 1827, the annual income had increased to £5,887, and the "savings" to £12,203. The trustees, not having availed themselves of the powers last named either by purchase or by building, now asked Parliament to enable them "to apply part of the present and future accumulations of the said trust estates, and monies, in the purchase of advowsons of livings, and to present thereto such individuals as at the time of the avoidance of such livings actually should be, or theretofore should have been exhibitors on the foundation of the said testator in Brasenose College."

The application does not seem to have excited opposition, or even to have attracted any degree of public attention; and thus an Act was quietly passed, by which the powers sought for were conceded. But it was provided that a surplus fund should always be left of at least £20,000, and that not more than £7,000 should be expended on any one advowson or benefice.

Twelve years later the trustees appear to have thought that it was time to clench the nail which had been so cleverly driven thus far. And now they asked and obtained the following enactments (2 Vict. c. 17—A.D. 1839):—

"1. The repeal of so much of the Statute 8 Geo. IV. as directed that the accumulated fund should be kept up to £20,000, and the substitution of a proviso that the accumulation should not be less than £5,000, the consent of three-fourths of the trustees being first obtained in writing. Wanting such consent, the limit was fixed at 10,000.

"2. Power to endow or augment the endowment of any benefice purchased by the Trust to an amount not exceeding £7,000.

"3. Power to expend such sums, not exceeding £7,000 in each case, as they shall think fit in building and endowing churches or chapels; to purchase or build parsonage houses at a cost not exceeding £700 in any one case; and to possess, as patrons, all the rights possessed by the patron of any the like ecclesiastical benefice."†

Under this act the trustees have already purchased twenty-nine benefices, the annual aggregate value of which appears to be about £5,400 a-year. Ten of these benefices are under £200 a-year; four

* Twenty-first Report of the Commissioners for inquiring concerning Charities, (1829) p. 624.

† See the abstract of this Act given in Mr. Kay's Letter to the Mayor of Manchester, pp. 15—18.

of them are under £100 a-year; their average value is but £186 a-year.* Mr. Kay points out—justly enough—the disparity between livings, or as he prefers to call them “starvings,” such as these, and the allowance made to the exhibitors whilst at college. I am not, however, disposed to lay much stress on this point. Every step that has been thus taken involves an unjustifiable departure from the testator’s intent, and a gross perversion of the interest of the public in the endowment. The testator expressly says, that he desires to assist the *poor sort* of graduates whilst they are at College, *and no longer*. Under the present system, “rich men,” we are told, “degrade themselves by seeking for their sons, or dependent relations, a college education of seven years’ duration, at the expense of a charity intended for poor scholars;”† and the trustees further tempt them to make the perversion co-extensive with their lives. Thus, what might have been a noble educational provision for men who have to fight the battle of life at a disadvantage, becomes but an additional cushion for men who are already at ease. An endowment, producing in half a century more than £200,000, educates during that time about *two hundred and eighty persons*. Whilst the inquiring by-stander, looking back over the whole period of the existence of the benefaction—now somewhat more than three half centuries—has to record his conviction, that “the deadening influence of the entire system is apparent from the simple fact, that not a dozen of Hulme’s exhibitors, in the space of 150 years, have arrived at eminence either in literature or science.”‡

The Oxford University Commissioners have reported, that in their opinion the practice of buying livings, pursued by some colleges, ought not to be continued. Their opinion is thus expressed:— . . . “It is very doubtful whether either literature or the Church derives any benefit from the ecclesiastical patronage of colleges. . . . It is a ‘rule of peace’ in them, to offer vacant benefices in succession to the Fellows according to seniority, without any regard to their qualification for the office. . . . A very immoral person (if such there were) would be passed over; but the most important livings may be claimed, from generation to generation, by elderly men who have lingered in the college for many years in hope of the particular preferment which they eventually obtain, till they are fit neither for the post which they have coveted nor for any other. . . . If benefactors should be willing to give advowsons to colleges, it might be inexpedient to *forbid* the acceptance of the bounty; but, in our opinion, the revenue of the colleges themselves OUGHT NOT TO BE APPLIED TO THE PURCHASE OF PREFERMENT.”§ If that practice be exceptionable on the part of Colleges, it is obvious that it must be, at least, equally so,

* Oxford University Calendar, as quoted by Mr. Kay, *ut sup.* p. 38. There is some disparity, however, in the gross amount, as it would appear by the table, and as it is stated in the text.

† Kay, Letter, &c., p. 34.

‡ Kay, *ubi supra*.

§ Report of the Oxford University Commissioners (1852), 171. Precisely in unison with this, is the opinion recorded by the Commissioners of Inquiry into Dublin University:—“When so much” say they, “might be done for the advancement of education by the endowment of additional Fellowships, Professorships, and Exhibitions in the College, we THINK THE PURCHASE OF ADVOWSONS AN INJUDICIOUS APPLICATION OF THE COLLEGE FUNDS.”—“Report of Her Majesty’s Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state, discipline, &c. of the University of Dublin and of Trinity College (1853), 22.

on the part of Hulme's trustees. Those trustees have repeatedly asserted, that it is not expedient further to increase either the number or the allowances of exhibitioners, and have embodied this their opinion in Acts of Parliament.* Surely, then, it is a reasonable inference, that if Parliament be justifiable in having already legalized so wide a departure from the intentions of the testator, for a limited and sectarian object, it will bye-and-bye be much better justified in proceeding a step further, for an object which shall be at once unsectarian in its scope, strictly educational in its character (and thus in that respect more accordant with the testator's will), and in conformity with a wise, deliberate, and matured expression of public opinion on the subject.

The sums hitherto set apart for the purchase of the advowsons, and the sums subsequently expended—or set apart for expenditure—upon the benefices so purchased, have been stated to amount to £46,546 9s. 6d.; in addition to which, it has been *estimated*† that there is at present a further accumulated surplus capital of £21,630, which has accrued from the savings of income since 1839.

In 1851 (after repeated attempts in preceding years), Mr. Bright moved and carried a resolution for a “*Return, in a tabular form, shewing the several advowsons or other ecclesiastical benefices purchased by, or now belonging to, the Trustees of Mr. Hulme; . . . the date when they were respectively purchased; the price paid for each; the gross annual income of each; the names of the present incumbents; and when such incumbents were respectively nominated or presented, and by whom.*” The return ordered has never been made; and Mr. Secretary Walpole appears to have applauded the refusal. After such approval from a Minister of State, it can scarcely excite surprise to find the president of Brasenose (Dr. Harington) replying to a Royal Commission of Inquiry, appointed with the full knowledge and virtual approval of Parliament, that “the College declines to give information to parties *with the object of whose inquiries they are unacquainted, and for whose authority to inquire they can find no warrant either in the Statutes of their Founders or in their Charter of Incorporation.*” The Royal Commissioners who were thus contemptuously treated included (it will be remembered) the distinguished Savilian Professor of Geometry in the University of Oxford, the Master of Pembroke, the Dean of Carlisle, and that excellent and truly venerable prelate the late Bishop of Norwich.

So profound is the mystery which at present enshrouds the Hulme Trustees and their management, that—as has been stated in the *Manchester Guardian*—two poor labourers, who a short time ago were ruined by the defalcations of a Hulmean Rector, strove in vain to OBTAIN EVEN A LIST OF THE NAMES OF THE POTENT BODY THEY INTENDED TO MEMORIALISE. †

* ‘Private Acts,’ 10 Geo. III. (1770); 35 Geo. III., c. 62 (1795); 54 Geo. III., cap. 205, (1814); 7 & 8 Geo. IV., c. 9, (1827); 2 Vic., c. 17, (1839) Abstracts of these Acts will be found in the first Report of the Committee on Manchester and Salford Education, 1852, pp. 477–481. † *Manchester Guardian*, 2nd May, 1855.

‡ It may be mentioned, as matter of curiosity, that no list even of *Chetham's Trustees* appears in any recent Manchester guide-book; the latest that a tolerably extended search has revealed, is that published by Mr. Wheeler, in his ‘History of Manchester,’ in 1836. Prior to 1830, such lists were of common occurrence. (See Aston’s ‘Manchester Guide;—‘Panorama of Manchester,’ &c.)

JOHN OWENS, a Manchester merchant, who died in July, 1846, by his last will, after bequeathing several legacies to public charities and educational establishments already in existence, and making adequate provision for some poor relatives (without unduly lifting them out of their sphere) directed that the available residue of his personal estate, should, under the management of fourteen trustees, named in the will, be applied to the purpose of founding "an institution for providing or aiding the means of instruction and improving young persons of the male sex (and being of an age not less than fourteen years) in such branches of learning and science as are now, and may be hereafter usually taught in the English Universities, but subject, nevertheless, to the two fundamental and immutable rules and conditions hereinafter prescribed, namely—*First*. That the students, professors, teachers, and other officers and persons connected with the said institution, shall not be required to make any declaration as to, or submit to any test whatsoever of, their religious opinions, and that nothing shall be introduced in the matter or mode of education, or instruction, in reference to any religious or theological subject which shall be reasonably offensive to the conscience of any student, or of his relations, guardians, or friends, under whose immediate care he shall be. *Secondly*. That if, and as often as the number of applicants for admission to such institution as students shall be more than adequate to the means of the institution, a preference shall in all cases be given to the children of parents residing, or who, if dead, or the survivor of whom resided, when living, within the limits now comprised in the parliamentary borough of Manchester aforesaid, or within ten miles from any part of such limits; and secondly to the children of parents residing, or who or the survivor of whom when living, resided within the limits comprised in the parliamentary district or division of South Lancashire; but subject as aforesaid, the said institution shall be open to all applicants for admission, without respect to place of birth, and without distinction of rank, or condition in society." . . .

The institution thus planned has become THE OWENS COLLEGE. Its germ lay, I believe, in the anonymous article by which attention had been called in a public journal to the want of such an institution in Manchester. The testator was a native of the town,—born in moderate circumstances, of very unobtrusive life and manners, unmarried, and without near relatives,—and by dint of persevering industry had realised a considerable fortune. His "residue" amounted to £100,000. No part of it was applicable either to the erection or the purchase of a building, but a subscription (quietly raised by the personal exertions of the trustees, and amounting to nearly £10,000) soon provided one, on a scale more than sufficient for the immediate requirements of the college, and capable of large extension hereafter.

The course of study, as settled by the trustees, comprises:—

1. Languages and literature of Greece and Rome.
2. Mathematics.
3. Natural Philosophy.
4. Logic and Mental Philosophy,

5. General Grammar, English language and literature.
6. History, and Moral and Political Philosophy.
7. Natural History.
8. Chemistry.
9. Modern Languages.
10. Commercial Studies.

The college was opened on the 12th March, 1851, in the presence of the Bishop of Manchester, of the President of the Lancashire Independent College, of the Rev. J. J. Tayler; and of many other ministers and laymen of various denominations. Its professors were empowered to give certificates for candidates for degrees in the University of London, by a royal warrant of the 29th May, 1851, and it has for its Principal, Mr. A. J. Scott, a gentleman who, at the time of his election, was Professor of English Literature and Dean of the Faculty of Arts in University College, London.

In a preliminary report—printed in 1850—the Committee of Trustees, charged with the preparation of a scheme for the organization of the college, thus expressed a hope which will, I trust, some day grow into a reality:—"We take this opportunity of inviting attention to the important subject of the establishment in Manchester of an University conferring its own degrees, without resort to the metropolitan University. . . The claims of Manchester to such a distinction are, we conceive, not inferior to those of Durham. . . and the Owens College, with adequate support, may form the nucleus of a University by which the beneficial designs of our testator may be carried out, to an extent scarcely contemplated by himself, and greatly to the advantage of this and the adjacent counties."

Both the amount of success which has hitherto attended the working of The Owens College, and the causes which have limited that success, alike point to the necessity of dealing thoroughly and comprehensively with the question which was thus mooted. The large and rapidly increasing funds of the Hulme Charity, if rescued from their present perversion, will go far to afford the means of so dealing with it, and there can be no doubt that these means would be liberally supplemented by a public subscription, commensurate with those vast advantages which could not fail to result to the whole community from the adequate foundation and the secured maintenance of a future UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MINOR CHARITABLE FOUNDATIONS AND BEQUESTS OF MANCHESTER WORTHIES.

THE late Thomas Walker, of Longford,—a most worthy man, both in public and private life, though, in the days when the good old words of “Church and King” were prostituted to the excitement of popular frenzy and to the encouragement of public riot and brutal outrages, he was tried for “Sedition,”—at the close of his boroughreevalty, in 1792, published an account of what were then called “The Boroughreeve’s Charities.” They were seven in number, with an aggregate income of £395, and were all intended for the relief of poor and necessitous people. The five which remain now produce an annual income of £2,103 15s. 6d. The principal of these was established in his lifetime by George Clarke, through the trusteeship of Humphrey Chetham. In Mr. Walker’s time it produced £320 a-year. In the time of Mr. Kay (who imitated his predecessor’s example by publishing an account of these charities in 1848)* it produced £1,970 a year. Marshall’s Charity (the next in importance) produced at the former period £67 10s., and now produces exactly the same amount and no more. The difference in present beneficial result between Clarke’s Charity and Marshall’s Charity is just the difference between wise investment and unwise—between the good and the bad “administration of Charitable Trusts.”

Besides these Charities—now called THE MAYOR’S CHARITIES—there are many others, left by various old “Worthies of Manchester,” some of which are administered by private trustees, others by the Churchwardens and Overseers of Manchester; and others, again, by the Dean and Canons. Some well husbanded, and zealously administered; and others which, by neglect of trustees, (most of whom are long since in their graves,) have either fallen into decrepitude, or have been totally lost. Taking all these “MINOR CHARITIES,” in the order of their respective dates, we may disregard,—for the present,—their peculiar Character as to *Trusteeship*.

(1) MARGARET AND WALTER NUGENT’S CHARITY.

The earliest in date is that founded by Margaret and Walter Nugent, who, in pursuance of the intention of Richard Nugent, deceased, conveyed, in 1609, certain messuages in trust for the bestowal of the reserved rents thereof in the buying of turves for poor housekeepers.

* “Proceedings of Manchester Council,” 1850, 173—190

In 1826, the Commissioners for enquiring into Charities reported that no payment had been made on account of these chief rents since 1812.*

(2) EDWARD MAYES' CHARITY.

In 1621, Edward Mayes bequeathed £120 to be employed in the purchase of land, or to be otherwise profitably invested, for the use of the poor of Manchester, to whom the rents and profits were to be distributed according to the discretion of the Churchwardens and others, on Good Friday in every year. Land and Dwellinghouses in and near Millgate and Miller's lane were accordingly purchased; and in 1794 an Act of Parliament was obtained authorising the granting of building leases, the annual rents of which amounted in 1825 to £429 18s. 6d., and the then estimated annual value to £1,875.**

(3) GEORGE MARSHALL'S CHARITY.

In 1624, George Marshall granted all his lands and tenements to William Sparke and others, in trust to apply the rents, &c., to the relief of poor people within the town of Manchester. These rents amounted in 1750 to £12 per annum. In 1781 the property was sold to the Improvement Commissioners, and the purchase-money, £2,250, invested in three per Cent Consols, yielding annually £67 10s. 0d.†

As has been observed already, this sum it produced sixty years ago, and this sum it produces now; neither more nor less. Many similar instances will appear in the sequel.

(4) ELLEN HARTLEY'S CHARITY.

In 1626, Ellen Hartley, of Manchester, conveyed a dwelling-house and appurtenances in "Market-Stidd-lane," in trust to apply the rents, &c. to the relief of poor and needy people dwelling in Manchester, at the discretion of the Constables and Churchwardens. In 1822, this property produced an annual rent of £14 10s. 0d. In that year it was sold to the Market-street Commissioners for £1,370, and the purchase money, after deduction of £131 10s. 6d., for Trustees' expenses, was ultimately invested in the 3 per Cents.‡

In 1848, Ann Collier by her will (which took effect on her death in 1852), after bequeathing £100 to the Deaf and Dumb School, directed that the residue of her property should be added to the Charity distributed by the Mayor of Manchester called "Ellen Hartley's Charity." In October, 1853, the Charitable Trusts Committee reported their expectation, that "upwards of £700 would be thus added to the funds of such Charity." §

(5) NICHOLAS HARTLEY'S CHARITY.

In 1628, Nicholas Hartley bequeathed £50 towards the comfort and relief of aged and poor people of Manchester; which sum was

* Charities Report, (xvi.) 151. ** Ibid 152-5. † Charities Report, 146. Kay, *ubi. sup.*, 181

‡ Charities Report 157. Kay, in Proceedings, 182.

§ Ibid. at sup. Proceedings of the Council, 3, p. 300.

invested in the purchase of a dwelling-house and appurtenances at Moston, producing in 1712 an annual rent of £3; from 1762 to 1813, one of £4 4s. 0d.; and since 1813, one of £1515s. 0d. *

(6) GEORGE CLARKE'S CHARITY.

In 1636, George Clarke enfeoffed in Humphrey Chetham and others, houses and land in Manchester, Crumpsall, and Tetlow, in trust that the clear yearly rents should be for ever and wholly dispensed in the relief of poor and needy persons in Manchester, according to the judgment and direction of the Boroughreeve and Constables. According to Mr. Walker, the property, at the date of the gift, produced the clear annual sum of £100. In his year of office (1790-91) as Boroughreeve, it produced £320 0s. 6d. †

In 1795, and again in 1806, the Trustees obtained power to grant building leases, and otherwise improve the estate; and, at the date of the Charity Commissioners' inquiry (1825), the one hundred pounds of yearly income of 1636, and the three hundred and twenty pounds of 1790, had become one thousand seven hundred and ninety five pounds of gross annual income. The annual expenses, on an average of the six preceding years had been about £280, leaving an average *net* income of £1,515. During those six years, £1,755 had been laid out in the purchase of stock, and £6,647 distributed—chiefly in linen and in blankets—amongst the recipients of the charity. Twenty years later (1846), the *net* sum so distributed was £1,800, and the number of persons relieved in one year, 7,686. ‡

(7) JOHN PARTINGTON'S CHARITY.

In 1677, John Partington bequeathed to his Executors £100, to the intent that they should purchase lands or tenements in fee-simple, and convey the same in trust for the relief of poor and needy people in Manchester, at the discretion of the overseers for the time being. Lands in or near Little Lever appear to have been purchased accordingly; but the Commissioners, at the date of their Manchester inquiry, had "not been able to obtain any further information as to this Charity," but "were in hopes that they should be able *at least to discover the situation of the Lands . . . and the present possessors thereof*" when they should come to enquire into the Charities of Bolton, in which parish Little Lever is situate. §

(8) HENRY DICKANSON'S CHARITY.

In 1682, Henry Dickanson gave to the poor of Manchester the sum of £100, the profits whereof were to be annually divided amongst them at Christmas for ever. This sum was expended in the purchase of a messuage at Saddleworth, and a yearly rent of £5 is paid to the Churchwardens of Manchester. ||

* Charities Report, 156.

† Charities Report, 139-146. Kay, *ubi sup.* 177-182.

‡ Kay, *ubi supra*.

§ Charities Report, 159.

|| Ibid.

(9) JOHN BARLOW'S CHARITY.

In 1684, John Barlow gave £5 a year for ever toward "maintaining a schoolmaster at Shrigley, to teach poor children"; £1 a year to buy them books; and £6 a year to bind apprentice poor boys in Shrigley and Manchester alternately. "We have not," say the Commissioners, "been able to discover any trace of the payment of this Charity for the benefit of the poor in Manchester, although about 1823, great pains were taken by the Churchwardens to obtain information." *

(10) ROBERT SUTTON'S CHARITY.

In 1687, Robert Sutton bequeathed to his Executors £200. to be laid out in the purchase of land or tenements, in trust, to employ the income thereof, towards the clothing of at least 24 poor, aged, and necessitous housekeepers in Manchester. Land and tenements in Sholver and Gorton were accordingly purchased, and yearly rents of twenty pounds thence accruing are annually employed in the purchase of stuff gowns for poor and aged women. †

(11) THOMAS PERCIVALL'S CHARITY.

In 1693, Thomas Percivall gave to the poor of Manchester £150, which appear to have been laid out in the purchase of lands at Royton, which lands, in 1825, yielded to the Churchwardens of Manchester a yearly rent of £28. Under this land there is coal, which, in 1825, was estimated to be worth upwards of £1,000. ‡

(12) JOHN ALEXANDER AND JOSHUA BROWN'S CHARITY.

In or about the year 1688, John Alexander, as it appears, gave land in Gorton for the use of the poor of the township of Manchester; and, in 1694, Joshua Brown gave £100, to the same use, which, about half a century afterwards was laid out by the Churchwardens in the improvement of the land at Gorton—well known as the "Manchester Poor Land"—and the Cottages thereon, which, in 1822, were let for a term of fourteen years, at rents amounting to £30 per annum. §

(13) THOMAS MYNSHULL'S CHARITY.

In 1689, Thomas Mynshull—one of a family which has now an ascertained place in the biography of John Milton—conveyed to Trustees certain lands and buildings in Manchester, first to his own use, and after his decease to be "carefully employed to bind poor, sound, and healthful boys apprentices." In 1825, the property was let at £51 per annum; and in the six years preceding 1824, thirty-three boys were thus indentured. ||

* Charities Report.

† Ibid. 161.

‡ Ibid. 149.

§ Ibid. 143.

|| Ibid. 162.

(14) HUMPHREY OLDFIELD'S CHARITY.

In 1690, Humphrey Oldfield bequeathed £20 to the poor of Manchester, and £50 to the poor of Salford. These sums were lent on interest at 5 per cent., and the proceeds are distributed yearly in gratuities to poor persons.*

(15) ELLEN SHUTTLEWORTH'S CHARITY.

In 1695, Ellen Shuttleworth bequeathed £50 to continue for ever in the hands of the Boroughreeves of Manchester, and to be by them improved to the best yearly profit, and the produce thereof (£2 4s. 8d.) employed in the purchase of linen cloth, to be distributed amongst necessitous persons inhabiting in Deansgate, in Manchester.

(16) JAMES MOSS' CHARITY.

In 1705, James Moss bequeathed £100, to be laid out in the purchase of lands and tenements, with the profits whereof five blue gowns were to be given to five aged men on Christmas-day morning in the South-porch of the 'Old Church.' A rent charge of £5 5s. is annually received by the Churchwardens, and is thus appropriated.†

(17) FRANCIS CARTWRIGHT'S CHARITY.

In 1708, Francis Cartwright bequeathed to Trustees £420, to be put out at interest, or laid out in purchasing a yearly rent charge or other good estate of inheritance, out of the profits of which his Trustees should annually pay one pound to the preacher of a New Year's Sermon at the Parish Church of Manchester, and divide the residue into three equal parts—two of which should be lent yearly, without interest, for the term of seven years, to poor, honest men of the Church of England, giving proper security; and the other third part be yearly laid out for binding apprentices, the children of indigent housekeepers of Manchester, maintaining themselves without poor-relief. In 1825, the investment made in pursuance of this will produced chief rents amounting to £19, in addition to the yearly profits of what remained of the sum of £1,000, which had been placed out at interest, but from which various sums had been drawn from time to time for the purpose of the Charity. At that date there were twenty bonds for £50 each outstanding, the earliest of which dated from 1819; and there was on record but one instance in which preceding loans had not been duly and fully repaid. Between 1819 and 1825, twenty-three children had been placed out to good trades with premiums varying from eight guineas to £20.‡

(18) CATHERINE RICHARDS' CHARITY.

In 1711, Catherine Richards, of Strangeways Hall, directed by her will, that the persons who from time to time should be in possession

* Ibid. 162-3. † Ibid. 150, 151. ‡ Ibid. 165.

of the Estates thereby devised, in tail, should out of the rents of her houses in Manchester, pay £100 a year for relief of widows or decayed tradesmen of Manchester, and for instructing and apprenticing poor boys and girls of the like decayed tradesmen. Part of the premises which were charged with the payment of this yearly sum, were subsequently purchased by the Churchwardens and Overseers of Manchester; and since that purchase, a like sum has been charged annually to the account of the poor rates as for the rent of the Poor House, but retained by the Churchwardens "in lieu of the sum payable by Lord Ducie—owner of the estates formerly belonging to Mrs. Richards—mutual receipts being given, the one to Lord Ducie for £100, due to the Charity: the other by Lord Ducie to the Churchwardens for £100 rent."* Out of the income, there was paid at the date of the Commissioners' Inquiry, £70 a year to ten poor widows appointed by Lord Ducie and the Warden of Manchester alternately; £20 a year was paid to the Treasurer of the National School for Boys of Manchester and Salford, and the remainder was applied for other educational purposes, or in apprentice fees.

(19) ANN HINDE'S CHARITY.

In 1723, Ann Hinde bequeathed houses in Fennel Street and land in Salford (subsequently purchased for the erection of the Salford House of Correction at the price of £1967 10s.), together with the residue of her personal estate, in trust, that the profits should be yearly applied to the "instructing of 20 poor children: 10 thereof inhabitants of the town of Manchester, and 10 of the township of Stretford." In 1825, the yearly income was £200, out of which 57 children were "clothed and educated free of expense."†

(20) WILLIAM BAGULEY'S CHARITY.

In 1725, William Baguley bequeathed the sum of £200 "towards the founding and endowing of a charity school within Manchester." The report of the Charity Commissioners on this bequest is too pregnant an one for much abridgment:—"In the account," say they, "of charities entered in the churchwarden's register, preparatory to the Parliamentary Returns of 1786, it is stated that with the sum of £200, chief rents amounting annually to £8 13s. 2d. had been purchased and were then vested in Sir J. P. Mosley, Bart., and the Rev. R. Kenyon. Under this statement there is an entry in pencil which seems to have been intended as a list of the chief rents . . . to the amount of £8 1s. 4d., but by whom . . . made does not appear. *We have applied to the several persons now in possession of the different premises mentioned in the list, but have not been able to obtain any information . . . nor any evidence of the payment of these rents, except as to one of £2, though it is supposed that the whole or . . . part, were received by John Thornton, who kept a school in Tipping's Court up to the time of his death in 1821.*"‡

* Ibid 167. *The Will of Cath. Richards*. 8vo. Manchester, 1790.

† Charities Report, 169—171.

‡ Ibid, 168.

(21) JANE CORLES' CHARITY.

Jane Corles, in 1732, gave £55 to be placed out at interest in the names of the chaplains of Christ's College, that out of the interest there might be given to "ancient poor persons who should frequent the said College and attend divine service there," either loaves every Sunday or gratuities every Christmas Eve at the discretion of the said chaplains," which bequest has been ever since duly distributed *

(22) ROGER SEDGWICK'S CHARITY.

In 1733, Roger Sedgwick gave £200 to be expended in lands of inheritance, and the rents thereof yearly distributed to the necessitous poor of the township of Manchester. In 1825, the rent charges received on this account amounted to £3 3s. 9d., and were yearly distributed by Mr. Sedgwick, of Hoole Hall, near Chester, great grandson of the testator—"from inadvertency, amongst the poor of his own immediate neighbourhood;" but, add the Commissioners, "being now aware that the charity was intended for poor persons of Manchester, he has engaged to apply the income, in future, according to the directions of the donor."† In 1851, on the report of their Charitable Trusts Committee, the Council of Manchester resolved: "That this Council do hereby authorise and instruct the said Committee to take all steps necessary for securing the transfer of the trust under the will of the late Roger Sedgwick from the present trustee to the Corporation, and of vesting the charity estate left by him for the poor of Manchester in the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the borough; and that the said Committee be also empowered to make the necessary arrangements for petitioning the Court of Chancery and for indemnifying on behalf of the Corporation, the present trustee from any costs which may be thereby incurred."‡

(23) CHARITIES OF ANN BUTTERWORTH, DANIEL BAYLEY, AND OTHERS.

In 1735, Ann Butterworth gave to trustees, by Deed Poll, the sum of £500, to be put forth at interest for the binding apprentice the children of poor Protestant dissenting ministers and decayed tradesmen—"not excluding other Protestants" (*i. e.* other than dissenters from the Established Church), "who should have been of sober and religious behaviour, and of good credit and reputation." Another sum of £100 was given by Daniel Bayley, and in 1825 the capital fund of this charity (besides a balance at bankers of £326 bearing interest) had, by good husbandry, amounted to £3,066 13s. 4d., Three-per-Cent Consols; and "it is stated," say the Commissioners, "that no application is refused, provided the child on whose behalf the application is made is a real object of charity;" and further, "that it is for the benefit of all persons being Protestant, whether of the Church of England or dissenters." §

* Ibid. 171.

† Ibid, 162, 173.

‡ Proceedings of the Council, 1851-52, p. 29.

§ Ibid, 175, 177.

(24) ELIZABETH SCHOLES' CHARITY.

In 1740, Elizabeth Scholes gave £21 to make provision for a yearly sermon at the Collegiate Church, on St. John Baptist's Day, for ever; and a further sum of £150, the interest whereof should be divided equally, immediately after such sermon, amongst 20 poor, needy, and impotent housekeepers receiving no relief from the said town, (with another bequest for the poor of Chapel-en-le-Frith). These sums were invested in the Five-per-Cents of 1797, and in 1825 commuted for £266 13s. 4d., Three-per-Cent Consols, yielding eight pounds a-year.*

(25) ELLEN NICHOLSON'S CHARITY.

In 1742, Ellen Nicholson gave £120 in trust to pay the annual interest to ten poor inhabitants of Manchester having no relief from the town. It produced, in 1825, £6 yearly. In October, 1850, Messrs. Slater and Heelis, as solicitors to the executors of Thomas Tipping, Esq., deceased, the representative of Ellen Nicholson's surviving trustee, stated to the Charitable Trusts Committee, that it appeared to them "most judicious to vest the above sum in the Corporation, in order to the distribution of the annual income by the Mayor, as Chief Magistrate," and the Common Seal of the Corporation was accordingly affixed, on the recommendation of the Committee, to a Declaration of Trust to the effect proposed. †

(26) ELIZABETH BENT'S CHARITY.

In 1773, Elizabeth Bent bequeathed out of the residue of her personal estate the sum of £300, in trust that the interest thereof should be annually paid to the Warden and Fellows of the Collegiate Church for support of a school in the Old Church-yard, and she further directed that another sum of £50 should be placed out to interest on good and sufficient security, the profits whereof should be annually distributed by the Boroughreeve, on Christmas day, towards the support of poor house-keepers not chargeable to the town; a like sum of £50 for the poor of Cheetham township, and another like sum for the poor of Prestwich parish.

"The interest" say the Charity Commissioners, "on the legacy of three hundred pounds, and on the two several sums of £50 for Manchester poor and Cheetham poor, was paid up to the year 1801," agreeably to the will. From 1776 to 1789 the payment was made by one of the Executors. "It was subsequently paid by Mr. John Ridgway, a Solicitor then living in Manchester, until 1801, when he left this country, and nothing has since been paid on account of these Charities;" and they subsequently add, "unless the monies due in respect of this Charity can be obtained from Mr. Ridgway, of which there seems to be little prospect, they must be considered as irrecoverable." ‡

* Ibid, 173, 175.

† Proceedings of the Council, 1849-50, p. 248, 249.

‡ Charities Report, 178-180.

(27) JOSEPH CHAMPION'S CHARITY.

In 1784, Joseph Champion gave to the Churchwardens of Manchester for the time being, the sum of £100 upon trust, to expend the interest upon loaves of wheaten bread to be distributed to poor and aged inhabitants yearly on St. Thomas' day. The annual sum of £7 1s. 6d. is now regarded as a charge upon the Poor Rate, and is paid by the Overseers to the Churchwardens.

This Charity, with those of Dickanson, Alexander, and Percivall (Nos. 8, 11, and 12)—amounting in the whole to £70 annually—are carried to one account and the whole proceeds are yearly expended in shilling loaves, which are distributed on St Thomas' day, and on the Feast of the Epiphany. *

(28) JOSEPH CLAYTON'S CHARITY.

In the same year, Joseph Clayton gave £400 to the Churchwardens and Overseers upon trust, to expend the interest yearly in the purchase of bedding and bed-clothes of all kinds, and to distribute them amongst poor worthy inhabitants being housekeepers within the township of Manchester. In 1825 the fund thus bequeathed stood invested in £420, new Four-per-Cents, and about 70 blankets were annually distributed. There was also a balance at the bankers of £55, at three per cent interest. †

(29) THOMAS HUDSON'S CHARITY.

In 1787, Thomas Hudson gave £509 to his Executors in trust for Charles Kenyon, "supposed to be beyond seas in America," on condition that he should return to Manchester and properly identify himself; and if he should be dead, or should not so identify himself, then on trust to invest the same and pay the interest to the Boroughreeve in augmentation of the Charities by him distributed. The contingency never occurred, and the history of the bequest is, as Mr. Kay has said, ‡ truly instructive.

The accounts preceding 1797 had been lost. At that date, *fifty shillings* is entered in the Boroughreeve's account, as received for the interest of the legacy. "From 1800 to 1819, the same sum is entered amongst the receipts as having been paid. From that period up to 1825, no interest was received. Fortunately the descendant of the surviving trustee proved a just and honourable man; he paid the legacy and arrears of interest, and invested the same in the names of seven trustees nominated by the Boroughreeve." Stock amounting to £730 15s. 1d., in the Three-per-Cents, was purchased, the interest of which is £23 2s.

(30) DANIEL SHELMEKDINE'S CHARITY.

In 1801, Daniel Shelmerdine bequeathed £126 to the trustees of the Independent Chapel, Mosley-street (since removed to Cavendish-street), the produce whereof was to be and is distributed on sacrament days, amongst the poor of that congregation. §

* *Ibid*, 194.† *Ibid*, 182.‡ *Ibid*, 147, Kay, *ubi sup*.§ *Ibid*. 178.

(31) SARAH BREARCLIFFE'S CHARITY.

In 1803, Sarah Brearcliffe gave to her executors the sum of three thousand pounds, upon trust, to invest the same as to them should seem best, and to apply the income thereof in the maintenance or relief of 15 old housekeepers of Manchester or Salford. At the date of the Commissioners' Report, £3,200 Three-and-a-half per Cents Reduced was standing in the names of the surviving trustees, the dividends of which amounted to £112 per annum, and were distributed amongst fourteen poor women in accordance with the directions of the testatrix.*

The diversified fortunes and the very conflicting results which have marked the history of charities, many of which are so similar in date and in purpose, cannot but strongly suggest the wisdom of considering whether steps might not be taken to assimilate the management of the whole to the management of the best among them. How various this management has hitherto been will be seen at a glance, if the general results be tabulated for the purpose of comparison:—

Name of Donor.	Date.	Amount originally bequeathed.	How invested.	Original ann. income when known.	Annul. income at date of Charity Inquiry. 1825.	Annual income in 1848, as stated by Mr. Kay.
		£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1 M. & W. Nugent ..	1609		Chief Rents	2 0 0	None.	.. ..
2 Edward Mayes	1621	120 0 0	Lands & Houses	.. ..	429 18 6	.. ..
3 *George Marshall ..	1624	.. ..	First in Land, aft. in Consols.	[1759] £12	67 10 0	67 10 0
4 *Ellen Hartley	1626	.. ..	House, aft. in Consols.	.. ..	[1822] 14 10 0	40 16 0
5 Nicholas Hartley ..	1628	50 0 0	House.	[1712] £3	15 15 0	.. ..
6 *George Clarke	1636	.. ..	Land, &c.	100 0 0	1795 0 0	1970 2 2
7 John Partington ..	1677	100 0 0	.. ..	.. ..	None.	.. ..
8 Henry Dickanson ..	1682	100 0 0	House.	.. ..	5 0 0	.. ..
9 John Barlow	1684	.. ..	.. ..	12 0 0	None.	.. ..
10 Robert Sutton	1687	200 0 0	Land, &c.	.. ..	20 0 0	.. ..
11 Thomas Percivall ..	1693	150 0 0	.. ..	.. ..	28 0 0	.. ..
12 { John Alexander } { and Josh. Brown }	1694	{ } { 100 0 0 }	Land.	.. ..	30 0 0	.. ..
13 Thomas Mynshill ..	.. ..	.. ..	Land, &c.	.. ..	51 0 0	.. ..
14 Humphrey Oldfield ..	1699	70 0 0	At Interest.	3 10 0	3 10 0	.. ..
15 *Ellen Shuttleworth ..	1695	50 0 0	.. ..	.. ..	2 4 8	2 4 8
16 James Moss	1705	100 0 0	Rent Charge.	.. ..	5 5 0	.. ..
17 Francis Cartwright ..	1708	420 0 0	[To be lent in sums of £50 with Interest; £1,000 so lent in 1825.]	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
18 Catherine Richards ..	1711	.. ..	Rent Charges.	100 0 0	100 0 0	.. ..
19 Ann Hinde	1723	[1967 10 0]	Residue, &c.	.. ..	200 0 0	.. ..
20 William Baguley ..	1725	200 0 0	Chief Rents.	8 13 2	None.	.. ..
21 Jane Corles	1732	55 0 0	At Interest.	.. ..	2 3 0	.. ..
22 Roger Sedgwick ..	1733	200 0 0	Rent Charge.	8 3 9	8 3 9	.. ..
23 Ann Butterworth, &c.	1735	171 0 0	Stock.	.. ..	8 0 0	.. ..
24 Elizabeth Scholes ..	1740	600 0 0	Do.	.. ..	102 0 0	.. ..
25 Ellen Nicholson ..	1742	120 0 0	At Interest.	.. ..	6 0 0	.. ..
26 Elizabeth Bent	1773	450 0 0	Do.	.. ..	None.	.. ..
27 Joseph Champion ..	1784	100 0 0	Do.	.. ..	7 1 6	.. ..
28 Joseph Clayton ..	.. ..	400 0 0	Stock.	.. ..	16 16 0	.. ..
29 *Thomas Hudson ..	1787	500 0 0	Do.	.. ..	None.	23 2 0
30 Daniel Sheldermine ..	1801	126 0 0	At Interest.	.. ..	7 0 2	.. ..
31 Sarah Brearcliffe ..	1803	3000 0 0	Stock.	.. ..	112 0 0	.. ..

* Ibid, 182, 183.

It is to those *five* Charities in this table which I have marked by an * that the recommendations embodied in Mr. Kay's Letter of 1848 apply. Their total income was then £2,103 15s. 4d, and the average annual expense of management and income-tax £92 16s. 5d. leaving a *net* income of £2,010 18s. 11d. Mr. Kay's very important suggestions are as follows —

- 1.—“Looking at the present state and value of these Charity estates and funds, and the income derivable therefrom, I would suggest that the whole of the real property should be sold, and also the whole of the property in the public funds. From such sales it is confidently anticipated the following sums would be realized :—

	£.	s.	d.
(i) Clarke's Charity, unimprovable rents, } £1,550 8s. 4½d. at 25 years' purchase }	38,760	9	0
(ii) Ditto Farm at 30 years' purchase at } present rent of £36 10s. 0d. }	1,095	0	0
(iii) Stock in the public funds £12,289 14s. 9d. } at 90, }	11,060	13	0
(iv) Balance in the hands of the bankers, about	1,285	0	0
Total	£52,201	2	0

Of this sum I would invest £40,000, in the mortgages or bonds of the Corporation of Manchester, at five per Cent interest, which, after paying the income-tax, would leave for distribution more than £1,800 per annum, which amount has for the last three years been paid over by the trustees for distribution. The residue I would lay out in a real estate near Manchester, about the same distance from the Town Hall as those originally given by the founder. There are several such estates now in the market for sale, which would pay three per cent on the outlay, with the certainty of becoming in less than half a century, as productive as the estate in Crumpsall has proved to be. The rental received from this estate I would employ in making roads, and otherwise laying out the property for building upon. This course would, in fact, be a repetition of Mr. Clarke's gift, and, I entertain no doubt whatever, would, under similar management, be attended with the same results which have so happily followed the course taken by his trustees.

- 2.—“If it should be urged, that these objects cannot be accomplished without the authority of Parliament, I reply that the sooner an Act is obtained for the purpose the better; and that the expense attendant on such an application would be amply repaid in the increased efficiency of the charitable funds.

“If timid persons should affect to throw doubt on the security afforded by the mortgages or bonds of the Corporation of Manchester, it may be replied that such an investment is quite as safe as in the public funds; it is less subject to fluctuation

and will incur much less expense of management. With respect to the four other Charities,—whose annual income and funds stand as follows:—

	Annual Income.			Principal Fund.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Marshall's Charity	67	10	0	2,750	0	0
Shuttleworth's „	2	4	8	55	18	2
Hudson's „	23	2	0	730	15	0
Hartley's „	40	16	6	1,360	19	5
	<hr/>			<hr/>		
	£133	13	2	£4,897	12	7

I would offer the same suggestion,—that the stock should be sold and the produce invested in the Corporation mortgages or bonds, by which course an addition of about eighty pounds per annum would be made to the income of these charities.

- 3.—“I would further suggest that to avoid in future the expense of appointing new trustees, the principal funds of these four last-named charities should be at once vested in the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the borough, as the trustees of the several charities; as a corporate body its continuance would prevent the constant recurrence of new appointments of trustees, with the expense always incident thereto; and at the same time all expense of management, bankers' commission, and solicitors' charges, would be saved.”

When the period shall come for dealing with the entire question of the Minor Local Charities, these suggestions will be sure to receive that deliberate consideration they are so well entitled to. Nor can it be doubted—from evidence already patent to us all—that the Charitable Trusts Committee and the Council will be prepared to take such steps as matured public opinion on this subject may in due time demand.

EPILOGUE.

THE MORAL OF THE STORY.

To deduce the full moral of the tale which I have thus attempted briefly to tell, would require an older and a wiser head than mine. Two lessons, however, seem to lie upon the surface: the one, that in the prosecution of any measures for further reform and further adaptation to altered circumstances there must be an union of large and liberal tolerance for diversities of faith and conflicts of opinion, with firm and unconquerable energy in the extinction of proved abuses. The other, that no improvements in the management or machinery of our charitable and educational trusts will be worth a tithe of the labour they are sure to cost, unless secure provision be made for the constant PUBLICITY of the accounts and of the proceedings of those who govern them, be they whom they may. On the one hand, a narrow and sectarian spirit can nowhere be more glaringly out of place than in dealing with institutions whose muster-roll of founders and of benefactors embraces men of all creeds in the Christian Church, and of all parties in the Political Commonwealth. And, on the other, unless public opinion be brought to bear thoroughly and persistently on Trustees and Feoffees, even the improvements that may come to be effected—in one instance, perhaps, by the special exertions of an energetic member of the board, or of some public-spirited citizen, or in another by some casual excitement of the community, aroused, it may be, almost by chance—will prove incomplete and transitory.

It is, in truth, because public opinion has *not* hitherto been brought to bear on the questions affecting them, that we find Chetham's Foundation prospering in one branch but decaying in another; the Grammar School so managed as to necessitate a litigation, lasting thirteen years and costing £6,000, in order to bring it into some degree of correspondency with new wants and new circumstances; and the noble benefaction of William Hulme so embarrassing his trustees by the rapid growth of its income, as to lead them to incur the cost of three several Acts of Parliament within a quarter of a century, in order to divert his bounty into a channel which the donor never contemplated.

Chetham's trustees have not published a single account of income or expenditure for five-and-twenty years. The accounts of the Free Grammar School could only be obtained by resort to the Court of Chancery. "No accounts of Hulme's charity," says Mr. Kay, "have been published since 1828;"* and Mr. Bright, as I have shewn, failed

* Minutes of Evidence before Manchester and Salford Education Committee, 21st June, 1852." Q. 2,412, 2,413, p. 396.

to obtain an account of the specific expenditure in the purchase of church livings even after carrying a motion to that effect in the House of Commons. John Owens, on the other hand, with wise foresight, expressly directed that his trustees should, at the expense of the trust estate, once at least in every year, publish a true, full, and plain account of receipt and expenditure, or a complete and intelligible abstract thereof "once, at least, in two newspapers for the time being published and circulated in the said borough of Manchester."* For security, both against the actual malversation of trust, and against that silent neglect which springs from careless trusteeship (less stigmatized by the Courts but equally fatal to the charity), there is no expedient half so good as that of thorough, frequent, and systematic publicity.

The best portion of the "*Act for the better Administration of Charitable Trusts*," which was passed at the close of the session of 1853, is the provision it makes to facilitate the securing of this publicity by those who will be at the pains of seeking it. The machinery of the Act itself, like that of so many other Acts, partakes a great deal too much of the tendency to place all institutions and all persons at the mercy of that most fortunate of mortals (as Sydney Smith was wont to call him), the barrister of twelve years' standing; but the following clauses, which cannot be too widely circulated, will be the seed-plot of vast improvement in the working of our public charities, if the right use be made of them:—

"X. The said Board [of Charity Commissioners] may require all trustees or persons acting, or having any concern in the management or administration of any charity, or the estates, funds, or property thereof, to render to the said Board, or to their inspectors, or either of them, accounts and statements, in writing, in relation to such charity, or the . . . property, income, monies, . . . management, and application thereof.

"XVI. The said Board shall receive and consider all applications, . . . and give such opinion and advice as they think expedient, . . . and every trustee or other person who shall act upon, or in accordance with the opinion and advice so given . . . shall have . . . indemnity. . . .

"LXI. The trustees, or persons acting in the administration of every charity, shall . . . regularly enter, or cause to be entered, full and true accounts of all money received and paid . . . and . . . every year . . . shall cause . . . a clear statement . . . of such account . . . to be sent . . . to the clerk of the county court for the district . . . wherein, or nearest adjoining whereto, such charity is established, or the property thereof . . . situate . . . [which account and balance-sheet] shall be open to the inspection of all persons, at all seasonable hours, on payment of the sum of one shilling . . . for such

* Extract of the will of John Owens, Esq., in "Proceedings of the Council of the Borough of Manchester, 1846," p. 11.

inspection; and every person may require and have a copy . . . paying therefor . . . after the rate of twopence for every seventy two words or figures." . . .

The Charitable Trusts Act has, during the present session of Parliament, been importantly amended. In introducing the amendment Bill into the House of Lords (in April last) the Lord Chancellor stated, that although the Commissioners were not appointed until the autumn of 1853, they had, during 1854, received no fewer than 1100 applications with regard to Charitable Trusts, and he proceeded to argue, that "in questions of a minor nature the great object was to have the funds administered with tolerable discretion, even if not in *strict* conformity with the letter of the trusts." That most important and beneficial power (of waving the *letter*, when needful to secure the *spirit* of the trust in question) had, he said, been very largely exercised. But that other important power which enabled the Commissioners to call for distinct accounts of Charities had not been complied with by anything like the whole of the Charitable Trusts of the kingdom. They had received returns only for about 10,000 out of 25,000 trusts; and it was obviously necessary that some legal interference should take place in that matter. With more extensive powers the Board could be rendered far more efficient. And he proposed by the Bill of 1855, to make the following provisions:—

- 1.—To sanction the appointment of a third permanent Commissioner.
- 2.—To give the Commissioners power themselves to do such acts as may need to be done in the improvement of the trusts brought under their review, instead of confining them, as by the Act of 1853, to authorizing the trustees to apply to some Court of Law or of Equity. The action they may take in any case, will, however, continue to be subject to appeal in Chancery.
- 3.—To give powers to make an apportionment of Parochial Charities in certain cases.
- 4.—To give increased facilities for enabling trustees to make useful and expedient changes, or partitions, of trust property.
- 5.—To treat defaults in complying with the requirements of the Commissioners for clear and distinct accounts of Charitable Trusts as contempts of the Courts of Chancery. [That being in the Lord Chancellor's opinion a very efficient means of compelling trustees to comply with the injunction of the law.]
- 6.—To extend the operation of the Act to Roman Catholic Charities (which, in the Act of 1853, had been specially excepted for two years).*

But it may fairly be asked, if provisions, such as these, for a cheaper, speedier, and more accessible adjudication of those legal questions which so often obstruct more prudent investments and wiser management, are just and equitable—sound in principle and

* Speech of the Lord Chancellor, 16th April, 1855, in *Hansard*, 3rd series, vol. 137, pp. 1434-1469. Since these pages went to press the bill has received the Royal assent.

useful in practice,—why should some of the most important clauses be restricted to charities ‘*of which the gross annual income for the time being, does not exceed thirty pounds?*’ For the present, it appears, we must be content, in all other cases, with recourse, as of old, to the tender mercies of the Court of Chancery. In this respect, a *new* Amendment Act is imperatively needed, and cannot be long withheld.

If, then, the “Charitable Trusts Act,” as now improved and amended—with the certainty of a further, and it may be hoped a speedy, amendment yet to come, as regards the *range* of charities to be embraced by it,—be properly worked, it will afford ample means of effecting many useful reforms. And other measures are fast ripening, which will assuredly work consentaneously with it, in the same direction. The principle of an Education-rate is making rapid strides in public opinion, and its progress would have been quicker but for the repeated attempts which have been made to connect that sound principle with a meddlesome, obstructive, and obnoxious centralization of authority over the working of it, in a Government department. It is now becoming pretty apparent, in London as well as in Manchester, that there will have to be a liberal and confiding recognition of the just rights and of the proved efficiency of local bodies, properly elected and thoroughly responsible. The government department, too, will have its fitting sphere of action when the proposal (urged so persistingly, session after session, in face of all discouragements, by Mr. William Ewart) of a responsible and catechizable Minister of Education, in lieu of the present anomalous “Committee of Council,” shall have been carried into effect. Thorough and frequent *inspection*; clear, concise, and widely circulated *reports* from the inspectors, are as plainly the functions of the central government, as *management* and *expenditure* are those of the local boards.

How these boards shall be nominated and elected, is a question to which I here allude simply for the purpose of suggesting, that if it shall hereafter in corporate towns be found advisable—as I believe it will,—to unite in the same board members of the Corporation with other persons differently elected, it may well be worth while to consider whether a similar step might not advantageously be taken in respect of the management of the local charities. If our review of the history of such charities in Manchester—and especially of the history of the minor ones—prove anything at all, it surely proves that mere unity of authority, so that it be conspicuous and responsible, can scarcely of itself fail to cure many abuses which have crept in by lapse of time and change of circumstance. But to effect this wisely and well, means must be taken to represent the **WHOLE COMMUNITY**—those who fondly cling to the Past, as well as those whose delight it is to live by anticipation in the Future,—those who venerate so extremely the worthies of bygone days, as to hold very cheaply every man who had not the good fortune to be born before the “Great Rebellion,”—as well as those who devoutly believe that wisdom will be buried in their own graves.

The long roll of the “Founders” and other Worthies of Man-

chester, is one of which any town might be proud. Nor is it matter of small interest to note how many are the links which bring into connection those whose date of existence, mode of life, social position, and whole environments were so widely diverse. The best of the Manchester Founders have been as anxious to remove abuses from the old institutions of their predecessors, as to found new ones which seemed to them to be still needful. Humphrey Chetham was as truly a benefactor to his townsmen when he was resisting Warden Murray and seeking a new charter for the Old Church, as when he was laying the foundation of the noble charity which has embalmed his name. Sir Thomas Potter and his co-relators, in 1833, were working in the true spirit of Hugh Oldham, and of Hugh Beswicke, when they prayed the Court of Chancery "that a plan might be settled for the permanent administration of the Grammar School Estates, and for the conduct, discipline, and studies of the school, having regard to the altered habits of the times, the greatly augmented value of the estates, and the exigencies of the inhabitants of Manchester."

The stranger who visits our Town Hall sees with interest the portraits of the men who have rendered distinguished services to this community, not only by their conscientious discharge of eminent Corporate offices, but by the removal of old abuses, and by the establishment of new institutions, which may one day—in their due place—be chronicled as admirably as those of the La Warres, the Oldhams, and the Chethams of olden time. But the exhibition would be a more interesting one if it included these elder worthies also, and thus visibly recognized that continuity of existence, which has made the entrenched Camp of the Romans, the wooden Village of the Saxons, the dingy, narrow laned, but thriving Town of the sixteenth century, and the great commercial city, whose merchants are princes, and whose enterprise links together the remotest spots on the habitable globe, still the identical MANCHESTER, the streets of which we are treading to-day.

The man who can look without any reverent feeling on that statue of Humphrey Chetham, which has recently added new beauty to our Cathedral, or who can pass wholly unregardful over the grave of a "Founder" like William Hulme, may well stand aloof from any effort to give increased efficiency to the Library of the one, or to check the wasteful expenditure of the bounty of the other. He may be a very prosperous man of business, and many may be the greetings and respectful salutations that await him on 'Change.' But if he be so besottedly engrossed in the pursuit of private gain,—so rich in pelf and so poor in intellect—as neither to strive himself to achieve something for the public, nor lend any furtherance to the efforts of others; if he give no helping hand either for the recovery of a decaying institution, or for the establishment of a desiderated one, of *him*, it should be recorded, instead of an epitaph:—*He held in no honour the memory of the beneficent dead. He established no claim to the gratitude of Posterity. May his own name fall into speedy oblivion. He forgot the Past; may the Future forget Him.*

He, on the other hand, will assuredly have his enduring place in the grateful memory of the Manchester to come, who, being blessed with large means and influential position, and feeling that wealth has its obligations as intensely as ever a Montmorency felt the truth of the proudly humble motto, *Noblesse oblige*, shall recognise in that gross abuse by which it has been attempted to divert the noble benefaction of Hulme from its proper channels, the opportunity to secure for Manchester the foundation of a true UNIVERSITY,—in which provision shall be made for the cultivation of the whole man;—in which a reverent and loving appreciation of all that is good in antiquity shall be united with just regard for the wants of our own day, and prescient provision for the inevitable claims of the future;—the main aim and end of which shall be the rearing, not alone of skilful and learned men for the professions, and of well-informed and energetic men for mercantile life; but (in the expressive and comprehensive words of one of the ‘bidding prayers’),—“*a due supply of men fitted to serve their country both in Church and State.*”

Such an University would sedulously strive to meet all the just demands of the active and enterprising times in which we live; it would make all possible provision for the thorough study of Commerce, and of Practical Science in all departments; but it would also proclaim that there are better and higher things than these. It would assert in the hearing of all men that “Commerce is not King,”* but is the invaluable servant of a quite different sort of Monarch; that it is truly a great thing to provide a thoroughly efficient training for the Counting-house and the Mart; for the Laboratory and the Surgery; for the Court of Law and for the Camp; but a much greater thing so to EDUCATE men as to make them not only good men of business,—whatever their calling,—but good CITIZENS—wherever their lot may carry them,—true PATRIOTS—whatever their Party,—and devout CHRISTIANS—whatever their Denomination.

* “COMMERCE IS KING,” has been for a number of years the motto carried—outside and in—by a widely-circulated Mercantile Magazine.

APPENDIX A.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES CITED OR REFERRED TO IN THE PRECEDING PAGES.

- (1) *Reports of the Commissioners appointed to Inquire concerning Charities, &c.* (Sixteenth and Twenty-first Reports.) Fol. London: 1826-29.
- (2) *History of the Foundations in Manchester of Christ's College, Chetham's Hospital, and the Free Grammar School.* By SAMUEL HIBBERT WARE, M.D., and W. R. WHATTON, F.S.A. 3 vols. 4to. Manchester: 1828—1830.
- (3) *The Ancient Parish Church of Manchester, and why it was Collegiated.* By S. HIBBERT WARE, M.D. 4to. Manchester: 1848.
- (4) *The Collegiate Church of Manchester, from its Foundation in 1842 to the present time.* By R. C. CLIFTON, M.A., Canon of Manchester. 8vo. Manchester: 1850.
- (5) *Letters on the Collegiate Parish Church of Manchester.* By THOMAS TURNER, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn. 8vo. London: 1850.
- (6) *The Manchester Grammar School; a Sketch of its History; with an Examination of the Points involved in the recent Litigation.* By an Old Scholar. 12mo. Manchester: 1849.
- (7) *Bibliotheca Chethamensis: sive Bibliothecæ publicæ Mancuniensis ab Humfredo Chetham fundatæ Catalogus.* Edidit JOANNES RADCLIFFE, M.A. [With Supplement by W. P. GRESWELL, M.A.] 3 vols. 8vo. Manchester: 1791—1826.
- (8) *Borough of Manchester: Proceedings of the Council for the years 1846-7—1853-4.* 8vo. Manchester. 1847—54.
- (9) *An Act for the better Administration of Charitable Trusts.* 16 & 17 Vic. c. 137. (20 August, 1853.)

- (10) *An Act for the further Amendment of the Law relating to Charitable Trusts.* 18 & 19 Vic. (August, 1855.)
- (11) *Hulme's Charity: A Letter to Benjamin Nicholls, Esq., Mayor of Manchester: &c.* By ALEXANDER KAY. 8vo. Manchester, 1854,
- (12) *The Manchester Guardian*, 1 May, 1847, Article: *Chetham's Library—Re-arrangement of the Books*;—28 May, 1853, Article: *The Bi-Centenary of Humphrey Chetham*;—April and May, 1855, Articles: *Trusts and Trustees*; and *Hulme's Trust*.
- (13) *First and Second Reports of the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales, made in pursuance of the Act 16 & 17 Vic. c. 137.* Fol. London, 1854-55.
- (14) *The Chetham Papers.* 1616-1660. (MS.)

APPENDIX B.

REGULATIONS AND INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING APPLICATIONS TO THE CHARITY COMMISSIONERS FOR ENGLAND AND WALES, UNDER "THE CHARITABLE TRUSTS ACT, 1853" 16 & 17 VIC. C. 137.)

APPLICATIONS FOR INQUIRY OR RELIEF RESPECTING ANY CHARITY.

1. ANY person or persons having reasonable grounds may apply to the Board for inquiry or relief with respect to any charity.

2. The application should be in writing, addressed to the Commissioners, and signed by the applicants, who should add their respective professions, occupations, or qualities, and residences.

3. No precise form is necessary; but the usual designation of the charity, and the name of the parish, town, or place for the benefit whereof the charity was founded, or in which it is administered, and the names, professions, or occupations, and residences of the trustees, or persons acting in the management or administration, should be stated in all cases. Such facts and circumstances as will sufficiently explain the nature and object of the application should also be stated.

4. A separate application should be made for each charity, except where several charities are administered together under one scheme or system of management.

5. On receipt of an application, the Board will make such inquiries and adopt such proceedings as the case may require.

6. A form of initiatory application is subjoined.

FORM OF INITIATORY APPLICATION.

To the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales.

* Insert the usual name or designation of the charity, and the name of the parish, township, or place for the benefit whereof the charity was founded, or in which it is administered.

In the matter of the Charity called* in
the of
in the county of

The following statements are submitted for the consideration of the Board:—

The applicants should state here concisely, and, as far as conveniently may be, in numbered paragraphs, the circumstances and the particular objects of the application.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3, &c.

I (or we) declare that the above statements are in all respects true, according to my (or our) information and belief.

Dated this day of

185 .

† The applicants should here sign their names, adding their professions or occupations and residences.

†

(L. of C.

AUG 21 1853

Manchester Worthies
and their

Foundations

by

E Edwards

1862
H. H. H.



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